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SECOND SERIES.

VOLUME III. PART I.

NEW-YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
346 & 348 BROADWAY.
M DCCC LVII.

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PREFACE.

THIS volume has been compiled and prepared for publication by the undersigned, to whom the duty was intrusted by the Executive Committee of the New-York Historical Society. Various circumstances—prominent among which may be named the engrossing, and now successful, efforts to ensure the completion of a fire-proof building for the use of the Society and the safe keeping of its Library and Galleries—have retarded the action of the Committee on Publications. It is confidently believed, however, that no such causes of delay will hereafter occur; and that when the Society shall at length be happily established in its permanent and convenient home, its series of collections will begin, and continue to be, regularly, as well as rapidly issued.

The first volume of the second series of the collections of the Society was issued in the year 1841:—the second followed it in 1849. Like its predecessors, this third volume is devoted to the illustration of the Dutch period in our History; that is, to the years between the discovery of the State in 1609, and its surrender to the English in 1664, when its name was changed from "New Netherland" to "New York." The fourth and the fifth volumes—which will complete the second series—are intended to contain a full and accurate catalogue of the Library, and are now in press.

The several articles embraced in the present volume are so fully indicated in the table of contents and explained in the notes which accompany them, that no further prefatory observations are thought necessary. The Committee, however, indulge and express the hope that this volume will be found to compare very favorably with any that have been issued by the Society. The proofs of each of the articles have been carefully read by the gentlemen whose names are connected with them as translators or annotators; and every precaution has been taken to secure correctness in all the details of the press.

Nevertheless, the undersigned deem it proper to state, that, beyond selecting the several papers included in this volume, and intrusting the translation and annotation of them to competent hands, they have not felt it to be their duty to revise, or alter in any way, the translations thus made, or the notes thus contributed. Their responsibility was considered to be that only of securing typographical accuracy.

FRANCIS L. HAWKS,
JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD,
GEORGE HENRY MOORE,
Committee on Publication.

NEW-YORK, *March*, 1857.

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[The officers of the Society are members, *ex officio*, of the Executive Committee.]

THE Rooms of the NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY are in the University Building, and are open daily to Members and Strangers who may be introduced by Members. Stated Meetings of the Society are held on the first Tuesday evening of every month, excepting July, August and September.

I.

VOYAGES

FROM

HOLLAND TO AMERICA,

A.D. 1632 TO 1644.

BY

DAVID PETERSON DE VRIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH FOR THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY HENRY C. MURPHY.

SECOND SERIES.—VOL. III.

INTRODUCTION.

It is remarkable that, after Hudson, only one of the numerous Dutch navigators and travellers has, as far as is known, published a journal or narrative, of voyages to New Netherland, during the period of the possession of the country by their nation.

Without stopping to speculate upon the cause, we deem the fact a sufficient warrant to authorize an attempt to render the account which stands thus prominently alone, accessible to the English reader; particularly as the work has merits of its own, which make it a valuable and necessary aid to those who would correctly understand the ante-Anglican portion of our history. It bears the following title: KORTE HISTORIAEL ENDE JOURNAELS AENTEYCKENINGE VAN VERSCHEYDEN VOYAGIENS IN DE VIER DEELEN DES WERELDTS—RONDE, ALS EUROPA, AFRICA, ASIA, ENDE AMERIKA GEDAEN, DOOR D. DAVID PIETERSZ. DE VRIES, ARTILLERIJ-MEESTER VANDE ED: M: HEEREN GECOMMITTEERDE RADEN VAN STATEN VAN WEST-VRIESLANDT ENDE 'T NOORDER-QUARTIER WAERIN VERHAELT WERD WAT BATAILJES BY TE WATER GEDAEN HEEFT: YDER LANDTSCHAP ZIJN GEDIERTE, GEVOGELT, WAT SOORTE VAN VISSEN ENDE WAT WILDE MENSCHEN NAER 'T LEVEN GECONTERFAEYT, ENDE VAN DE BOSSCHEN ENDE RAVIEREN MET HAER VRUCHTEN. T' HOORN *voor David Pietersz. de Vries, Artillerij-Meester van 't Noorder-quartier. Tot Alckmaer, by Symon Cornelisz. Brekegeest. Anno* 1655. It is a small quarto volume of 192 pages, printed in black-letter, and is illustrated with a portrait of De Vries, and eighteen plates; two of them representing his encounters with the pirates in the Mediterranean, four relating to scenes in the East Indies, and twelve to the Indians and natural history of America. We cannot

say any thing in favour of the plates connected with his voyages to America. They are for the most part copied from Champlain, and look indeed very much like the identical plates used to illustrate an edition of his voyages to Canada.

The book is one of the rarest to be found,—no printed copy being known to have been extant in this country before the one from which the following translation has been made, and which was obtained by James Lenox, Esq. A part of it in manuscript is among the Du Simitière papers, in the Philadelphia Library; and from that manuscript extracts were translated by Dr. Troost, and published in the first volume of the second series of the collections of the New York Historical Society. We now give the journals of the voyages to America entire; and though there be much in them relating to mere navigating, and sailing directions, and to his voyage to Guiana, of no importance to this portion of the country, yet we deem it due to De Vries, that his relations should be unmutilated; and to the historical reader, that he should know all that the author has written, in connection with his voyages to America. The style is plain and homely, and we have studied to render it faithfully rather than ornately, exhibiting the same characteristic. We have also, as a general rule, given the proper names in the same orthography as that of the original, although the same name is often differently spelt; because this very variation often affords the best means of determining the orthoepy of the word.

The history of De Vries is, in the absence of any known biography, to be gathered by us from his book. He was born at Rochelle, in 1593, whither his father went from Hoorn, after the murder of William of Orange in 1584. His mother was an Amsterdam woman. When he was four years old his parents returned with him to Holland. He appears to have been married before 1620. He made six voyages; the first of which was undertaken in 1618, when he sailed to the Mediterranean for a cargo of grain, returning in about a year's time. During that voyage he was attacked by several Turkish galleys near Cephalonia, but succeeded in repulsing them. In June, 1620, he sailed from the Texel, bound to Newfoundland, for fish—thence to the Mediterranean. He arrived at Newfoundland the last of July. We give here that portion of his journal of this voyage relating to his stay on the American coast, as illustrative in some degree of the nature of the Newfoundland fishery at that time, and as really an American voyage, though not so classed by the author.

"On the 10th of July, a small vessel of Plymouth, England, met

us of about sixty lasts, coming from New England, having been there a-fishing.

The 18th saw a high iceberg; at first it looked like a ship, but on approaching nearer, we found it an iceberg of wonderful height. It seemed impossible that we should encounter ice in July, in latitude 37.

"The 25th we sounded in twenty-seven fathoms on the bank of Newfoundland, and soon discovered it covered with ships fishing for cod. We bore down to them in order to hail them, but observing that I was not a fishing craft, they would not wait for me to come up, and went away. One among the whole remained. As I came close to him, he made sail, but he had lain still too long, and I overtook him. I desired him to strike his topsail, but he would not listen to it, when I let fire at him my bow gun, and put a shot through his mainsail. He immediately struck, and we hailed him as to what latitude he was in, and for some fish. He answered that they had observed no latitude in eight days, as it was always foggy upon the bank. He let slip, on a line from his stern, ten or twelve codfish, which we hauled in, and tied in their place two or three pieces of pork and beef, so that we paid him well for his fish, and let him go.

"The 29th, at night, we came upon the coast of Newfoundland, and as I went up on the watch to walk where one of the two mates was on the look-out, I heard a penguin,* and the cry of one of the look-outs on board of an English vessel, 'Shore! shore!' at which I was frightened, and asked him where the land was. He said on the lee. I told the man at the helm to put his helm a-lee, in order to stand about, which he did, and the ship luckily turned. I went aft to brace the topsail, and stood upon the pilot's house, and as the ship turned we felt the spray of the breakers, so that we could not have gone nearer and saved the ship, cargo and crew. We stood out in the opposite direction from that on which we had run in, and tacked back again at break of day, in order to see where we had been in the night. We found three high rocks, and if we had gone against them, cat nor cur of us would have escaped. We saw here great numbers of Basques' boats, who fled before us, supposing we were freebooters. We at length spoke one, who told us we were in the

* The cry of the penguin long served the mariner as a warning on that foggy coast, and the bird was, in consequence, protected by law from destruction.

Bay of Plaisance, where the Basques fish. He was shy of us, and did not want to come on board, but rowing over to us in front we supposed that he intended to come aboard; but he raised his foresail on the mast, and being a quarter on the weather-guage of us, forgot to come back, and went off. It was very foggy all day. We set our course for Cape Race, in order to get among the English.

"The 2d of August, with calm, fine, pleasant weather, we saw Cape Race.

"The 4th we ran along the shore and came to a bay called *Cappelinge*, where a Veerelander * was lying, and seven or eight fishermen, from whom we intended to buy fish, but they had sold out. I took one of their fishing-boats, which was made similar to the Basques' boats, and well adapted for rowing, and rowed along the coast, which has many bays and harbours, in which the fishermen keep with their ships. Having visited many of these harbours, I returned again to my ship, which I reached on the 10th. Besides my vessel there was a small boat of fifty or sixty lasts,† with six guns, which had come out of the Virginias with tobacco, in order to exchange the tobacco for fish.

"The 12th weighed anchor, and came to a harbour called St. John's, where sixteen fishing-ships were lying, with whom I traded and left my money. This harbour is narrow at its entrance, where there are two rocks, but above water, so that they can be avoided. It is so roomy and broad within that an hundred ships may lie in it; and it runs so far inland that the sea cannot be seen. These fishing-ships lie without any men in them while the latter are fishing. They cover their boats with their sails, and, placing them on the land, build from them what they call 'stages,' fourteen or fifteen feet over the water, in order, when their ships are full of fish, they may unload upon them. Whilst we were lying here a bear was caught in a trap, having been jerked up with a swipe, and so left hanging while the fishermen pierced him with their guns and pikes until he was dead; they then salted him and eat him, and I eat some myself. There was one caught, or rather caught and shot himself, in this way. They placed a loaded gun where this bear was in the habit of coming every night to lick up the train oil, and tied a small cord to the cock of the gun, and a piece of fish at the end of the cord, as a bait to attract him, which the bear pulling at, the gun went off, and the ball entered his

* From Veere, in Zealand.

† A last is about two tons.

breast, and came out behind. I saw this myself. This island is about as large as England, and is full of woods of birch, pine, and fir trees. The fruits which I saw were nothing but strawberries and blueberries. The island is, as before stated, full of harbours and bays, where there are annually five hundred fishermen, English and French, as well as Basques. The English fish on the middle coast, the French and Basques are on the south, the other on the north side of the island. This coast is full of fish, altogether cod, which they dry in order to take to Italy, Spain, and France. Even in England many are consumed instead of the stockfish eaten in the Netherlands. There are many salmon in the fresh rivers. Whilst we were lying here, there came into the harbour a sloop from the north, who told us that at the north, at a place called *Parlekan*, fifteen hundred salmon were taken at one haul, and that the net was so heavy in consequence of the great number of them, they could scarcely get it on land. This is what I know of the country.

"The 10th of September we weighed anchor, and set sail, five of us in company, among us a caraval from *Avere*, in Portugal. Going out, two ships came up to us, one of eight guns, commanded by Mr. Geerner van Zonden, the other mounting ten guns, by Mr. Fox.

"The 30th Cape St. Vincent hove in sight."

As the little fleet approached Carthagena, in Spain, they encountered eight Turkish ships, commanded by a Dutch renegade of the name of Veenboer. It was the 10th of October, at sunrise, that they prepared for battle. De Vries ran up the Vice-Admiral's flag, summoned together his men, thirty in number, sang with them the 140th Psalm, distributed brandy among them, and on some of them showing signs of cowardice, pricked them to duty with his sword. Two of the piratical craft disposed themselves to engage with De Vries, one of them mounting twenty-eight and the other thirty-three guns, while De Vries' ship had only fourteen. These vessels were strongly manned, one with 250 and the other with 300 men. It seems strange at the present day that a naval fight with such disparity of force could have been long kept up, yet these ships were engaged the whole day. Towards night, however, the Turkish admiral, Veenboer, was killed. The pirates then hauled off, and the next day De Vries entered the bay of Carthagena. Here he remained till the 10th of January, 1621, having in the mean time disposed of his cargo of fish. He then sailed for *Tabarcka* for a load of grain; thence to Genoa, and thence to Toulon, on the 12th of July. Here he entered into a con-

tract with the Duke of Guise, admiral of the King of France, to serve with his ship by the month, and continued in this service until December. The Duke then desired him to engage in his service against Rochelle, but he declined, on the ground that he could not fight against his religion. The Duke respected his scruples, and gave him a diamond ring on parting. After freighting for some time in the Mediterranean, De Vries heard of the death of two of his partners in Holland, whereupon he sold his ship and set out for Marseilles by land, for Dieppe, where he took ship, and arrived at Rotterdam in August 1623. He prepared, in the following spring, to make a voyage to Canada, which led to a controversy with the West India Company, thus related by him:—"The 24th of March (1624), being at home, and my own means not permitting me to buy a ship, I bought a small vessel for the purpose of going from the fishery to the coast of Canada for peltries, and to that end entered into partnership with Jan Mackyn, because every one had not liberty to go there, and no one except those of the West India Company. The ship being ready, two of the Bewinthebbers (managers) of the Nineteen of the West India Company of Amsterdam, came and said that they had authority to cause the vessels to be seized for their service, which they did. I showed them several more suitable ships than mine, but they were not satisfied with them, and desired mine. It seemed as if they were *curious** because I wanted to go to the West Indies. I protested against their proceedings, and sought redress in the *Commercial Court*, whereby they were adjudged to release my vessel from the seizure and let her go. Upon this they appealed, in order that my time would slip by, so that I could not prosecute my voyage. Understanding this, I started for the Hague to my *father-in-law*, who had been four or five weeks in attendance upon the Assembly of the States of Holland.

"The 28th of the same month I came to the Hague, and presented besides my commission† from the King of France, under the Admiral Montmorency, a petition (as I desired to go far beyond their limits, and to Canada) that I might be released from my arrest; whereupon I obtained an open letter to the nineteen Bewinthebbers, wherein it was set forth as follows: That as they were a newly organized company, they should be careful not to get into any difference with any neighbouring princes, their friendly allies. With this letter

* This is the original—it is used in the sense of *troubled*.

† Obtained through his partner at Rochelle, Jan Mackyn.

I returned to Amsterdam, and handed it to the Nineteen; and as those who are inclined to go to the fishery in Canada must sail in March, or at the latest in the beginning of April, they, well knowing this, sought to detain me from time to time; and seeing at last that they could no longer prevent me, ordered me not to go within their limits. Whereupon I said that I had not forged my commission, and that they had no right to prescribe laws to the King of France where he should go to traffic. Finally, the time having passed by, I was compelled to discharge the crew at a great loss, and sold the ship to the West India Company at Dort. Those at Amsterdam had caused some of my cargo at Amsterdam to be seized, whereupon I sought by law to have it released, and succeeded so far that the lords caused it to be released without cost or loss. Having already sustained great damage, partly on the goods and partly from the lost time of the ship and crew, instead of going off, it was necessary to stay at home; so I presented to the Bewinthebbers a petition, in which I sought that they would be pleased to pay me according to justice the damage which I had sustained, but they were not willing to pay me, and said they would allow me nothing. I answered them that the business little concerned me, but my partners at Rochelle having learnt of the unjustifiable seizure of their goods, would not, without doubt, remain still, but would speedily demand of them full compensation for their unreasonable damage; and I told them it was contrary to all reason that such a voyage should be frustrated in so unheard of a way, the more so because I had no other design than what was consistent with our business on the sea, to make our people of the Netherlands acquainted with those places; and I told them for a leave-taking, that they might take down what had transpired that very morning, that they then paid no regard to the States General.

"The 8th of May I received a letter from Lieut. John Mackyn, who was one of the company, to fit me out for Canada, dated the 12th of April, in which he wondered greatly, that as the time was already passed, I had not come over, and that he had hired twenty-five Basques to go on the fishery. I had written to him the first moment of my arrest, but it appeared he had not received the letter, and for that reason being uninformed of what had happened to me, it well enough caused him to wonder. The 12th of May he wrote another letter which I received the 6th of June, in which he directed me to come to Rochelle as speedily as possible to prosecute my voyage.

"The 25th of July I left the Maese with Captain Liefhebber for

Havre de Grace, where we arrived on the 28th, and I immediately set out for Paris, which I reached on the 4th of August, and on the 7th I went with the post to Rochelle, where I arrived on the 15th. After being there three weeks, I set out for French Bayonne, and on the way passed Bordeaux, and arrived at Bayonne on the 8th of September, where I hired some Bascans to go with me on the fishery, and bought a ship here, which I sent with the Bascans to Rochelle, in order to fit it out there."

De Vries proceeded to Rochelle, and remained there till April, 1625, when, being ready to sail, a tumult arose in that city, and his ship was taken into the service of the king of France. In March, 1627, he went, as captain, with a fleet of seven ships to the East Indies, and returned in June, 1630. The events of this voyage are of no interest. After being home about two months, his attention was directed to New Netherland, as detailed in the following pages, to which we must refer for the further incidents of his life. As his book was published under his own direction in 1655, he was then living, at the age of sixty-two years, holding an office under his government. Beyond this we know nothing of his history. He was certainly a bold and skilful seaman. He was a religious man, and held the strongest Calvinistic doctrines. His narratives, where he speaks from personal knowledge, are entitled to the highest credit, for not only do they bear internal evidence of truth, but they have been corroborated in many instances by other evidence, and by the records which we have; and being his daily observations, taken down at the time, they have rom this circumstance a value which no narrative formed from memory could possess.

His account of the Indians appears to have been compiled partly from his own observation, and partly from Champlain, Megapolensis, and others, and is, therefore, not of the same original merit as the rest of his work. His relation of the disgraceful and disastrous Indian war, in which he was an actor and friend of the Indians, is the only authentic one extant, of any completeness, except that of the government, and is, therefore, of great interest and value.

SHORT HISTORICAL

AND

Journal notes

Of several Voyages made in the four parts of the World, namely, EUROPE, AFRICA, ASIA, and AMERICA,

By D.

DAVID PIETERS-Z.

de VRIES, Ordnance-Master of the Most Noble Lords, the Committed Council of the States of West Friesland & the North Quarter

Wherein are described what Battles he has had by Water; Each Country its Animals, Birds, kind of Fishes and Savage Men,—counterfeited to the Life,— and the Woods and Rivers with their Products

HOORN.

For DAVID PIETERSZ. de VRIES, Ordnance-Master of the North Quarter. At Alckmaer, by SYMON CORNELISZ. BREKEGEEST. Anno 1655.

To the Noble, Mighty Lords, the Committed Council of the States of West Friesland and the North Quarter.

Together with the Noble, Very-learned Dirck Van Foreest, Doctor in both laws, and Secretary of the Noble, Mighty Lords, the Committed Council of the States of West Friesland and the North Quarter.

THE Noble, Mighty Lords, the Roman Senate, have always had as a maxim and rule of conduct, les lois ne sont faites quentant son salutaires au peuple; that is, laws are made only for the welfare of the people, to wit, that the community not only suffer no loss, but flourish and prosper more and more. This lesson and good counsel the excellent and illustrious kings of France, Henry of Valois, the Third of that name, and Henry the Great of Bourbon, the Fourth of that name, of France and Navarre, have followed and observed in great dignity, according to the testimony of the celebrated historian, Pierre Mathieu, who bears witness of this to the praise of their Majesties, and declares, moreover, that all the potentates and republics of Christendom should practise and follow this precept in order to advance and promote the interests of their people in all business and trade by sea and land. Our own old and faithful forefathers, the Lords Regents of our beloved Fatherland, especially, have always had it at heart, and in every way encouraged it to that end, principally in navigation and voyages by sea, as being the means in and by which the welfare and prosperity of the whole country not a little consist. Now, my most Noble Lords, you Mighty Lords, having no less care therefore at this time than had the old Lords Regents, your predecessors: so it is that I, David Pietersz: de Vries, having from my youth up been trained in that business, and having under the regulation of the Noble, High, and Mighty Lords States-General, and the privileges granted by the same, and by the Council of Nineteen of the West India Company, been the first possessor and patroon of the South River at Swanendael, and at Staten Island in Mauritius, or the North River of New Netherland, and also the first patroon who went there for the purpose of cultivating the same, and to trade and traffic there by special privilege of my Lords, have published my labours in navigation and around the world, as ship-master, as captain and supercargo in the East

Indies, as vice-commander of seven ships, and as a patroon who has planted colonies in America,—the first, indeed, who had ever sailed out of Holland or Zealand,—and every thing which I had found by my own experience: in order to make known to trading and seafaring persons what trade and profit (accidents excepted) are to be had there, and to point out to them the good havens and roadsteads for securing their ships and goods, and to warn seamen of the rocks, shoals, and dangerous bars, in order that they may avoid them; showing them also what course they must take at sea, and how they must govern by the wind, sun, moon, and stars. These my humble labours and writings, though not embellished with ornaments of words—as is not to be expected of a person who has passed the most of his life upon the wild ocean waste,—but containing every thing which has appeared to me in my voyages worth relating, I offer this day to you, Noble Lords, and pray you to accept the same, trusting that, being made accessible to the trader and seamen by printing, they will be of service to them. May Almighty God prosper your administration to his praise and glory, and to the best interests of yourselves and of the people. Anno 1655.

Noble Lords,

Your dutiful Ordnance-Master,

DAVID PIETERSZ: DE VRIES.

VOYAGE TO NEW NETHERLAND.

After I had been home from the Indies two months, I met, at Amsterdam, Samuel Godyn, a merchant, who bid me welcome, as an old acquaintance, and asked me where I came from? I said from the East Indies. In what capacity? I told him as supercargo. He inquired whether it was my intention to remain home. I said, yes. He said he wished me to go as a commander to New-Netherland; he wanted to plant a colony there, and to employ me as subpatroon, as may be seen in the privileges granted by the Lords States, and allowed by the Council of Nineteen of the West India Company to all patroons. I gave him for answer that the business suited me well, but I must be a patroon, equal with the rest. He said that he was content that it should be so. So we five first began this patroonship; namely, Samuel Godyn, Gilliame Van Rensselaer, Bloemaert, Jan de Laet, and myself, David Pietersz. de Vries. But more were afterwards admitted into the company; namely, Mathys Van Ceulen, Nicolas Van Sittorigh, Harinck Koeck, and Heyndrick Hamel, who made a contract with the others, whereby we were all placed on the same footing. We at the same time equipped a ship with a yacht for the purpose of prosecuting the voyage, as well to carry on the whale fishery in that region, as to plant a colony for the cultivation of all sorts of grain, for which the country is very well adapted, and of tobacco. This ship with the yacht sailed from the Texel the 12th of December, with a number of people and a large stock of cattle, to settle our colony upon the South River, which lies in the thirty-eighth

and a half degree, and to conduct the whale fishery there, as Godyn represented that there were many whales which kept before the bay, and the oil, at sixty guilders a hogshead, he thought would realize a good profit, and consequently that fine country be cultivated.

The 20th of same month, we understood that our yacht was taken the day but one before as it was running out the Texel, by the Dunkirkers, through the carelessness of the large ship, which had sailed after the yacht, in which there was a large cargo, intended for the coast of New France. The large ship proceeded on the voyage, having on board some people to land at the island of Tortugas in the West Indies, which island we had made a contract with sixty Frenchmen to hold for us as a colony under their High Mightinesses the Lords States and the West India Company.

ANNO 1631. In September our ship returned from New-Netherland and the West Indies. They should have disembarked a lot of people on Tortugas, but they found that France had been killed by Spain. The ship conveyed the rest to the South River in New Netherland, and brought a sample of oil from a dead whale found on the shore. The Captain said that he arrived there too late in the year. This was a losing voyage to us; because this captain, Peter Heyes, of Edam, whom we had put in command, durst not sail by the way of the West Indies with only one ship of eighteen guns, where he must have made good the expense of this voyage. He was a person who was only accustomed to sail to Greenland, where he made the voyage in three or four months, and then came home.

ANNO 1632. The 12th of February we again entered into an agreement to equip a ship and yacht for the whale fishery, in which much profit had not been realized; because we had had such a losing voyage, and no returns from the whale fishery, and saw no prospect of any. But Samuel Godyn encouraged us to make another attempt. He said the Greenland Company had two bad voyages with Willen Van Muyen, and afterwards became a thrifty company. It was therefore again resolved to undertake a voyage for the whale fishery, and that I myself should go as patroon, and as commander of the ship and yacht, and should endeavour to be there in December, in order to conduct the whale fishing during the winter, as the whales come in the winter and remain till March.

Before sailing out the Texel, we understood that our little fort * had been destroyed by the Indians, the people killed,—two and thirty men,—who were outside the fort working the land.

The 24th May, sailed out of the Texel with the ship and yacht, with a northeast wind.

The 26th of the same month, at night, we ran aground through the carelessness of the pilots, to whom I gave particular directions, before I went to bed, to throw the lead frequently, and keep the Vierman, which was a large ship, and drew full three feet more water than we did, upon our lee; but they not following their orders, we grounded upon the large shoal before Dunkirk. We fired a shot, so that our companion came to anchor. My yacht came under my lee; but we could not bear the expense of its returning. Our crew took the boat, and in that, and two wood sloops, left the ship. But I was not willing, and kept both of the pilots by me, who dared not leave me for shame, seeing that I remained aboard with eight or nine raw hands, whom I then learned to be the best of the crew. Those men who had appeared fierce as lions, were the first to escape in the boat. All of us pushing and pulling we got into four fathoms water, where I let the anchor fall, and set to pumping. At the same time, the day broke, when we saw the boat and two sloops tossing about; but when they saw the ship, they came on board again, and told us that had the night continued two hours longer, they would have rowed into Dunkirk. We weighed anchor again and sailed for the coast of England, and, on the 28th, ran into Portsmouth, and hauled the ship into the king's dock, where we repaired her.

The 10th of July, we sailed from Portsmouth to Cowes, in the Isle of Wight.

The 12th of the same month, the ship New Netherland, of the West India Company, arrived here,—a large ship, which was built in New Netherland, and which was bound to the West Indies, whither I had good company.

The 1st of August, with a good north-east wind, weighed anchor, and made sail with my ship and yacht, and the ship New Netherland.

* On the South River.

The 2d, passed Land's End, and laid our course for the Canary Islands.

The 13th, we saw Madeira on our larboard, and at the same time a Turk came towards us, but as soon as he observed that we were stout ships, he hauled off from us, and we sailed for him. The evening growing dark, I fired a shot for my yacht to come by me. When night came on, we pursued our course, but the New Netherland followed the Turk by night, which seemed to us folly, because we had not got near him by day. We then separated from the New Netherland.

The 14th, towards evening, we saw the Isle of Palms on our lee, and set our course from thence to Barbadoes.

The 4th of September, we came in sight of Barbadoes, and the next day, towards evening, arrived at the Island of St. Vincent. The Indians put out with their canoes and came on board of us. I observed the great astonishment of this people. Their canoes or boats getting full of water, they sprang overboard, and with great dexterity lifted up both ends with their shoulders in the water, emptied out the water, and then clambered in again ; when many of our people, in such circumstances, would have drowned, as the boat was full of water, and they had no other aid than their bodies and the sea. While here, we had fifteen good supplies of yams, pine-apples, and various other West India fruits. We anchored in the Great Channel in 23 fathoms.

On the 5th, arrived here also the ship New Netherland, which was separated from us at Madeira.

On the 8th, we weighed anchor, and passed by the islands of Martinique, Dominica, Guadaloupe, Montserrat, Redonde, and Nevis, arrived the 20th* before St. Christopher, where we found some English ships, and obtained a supply of water.

The 11th, weighed anchor, in order to sail to St. Martin. Half-way between St. Martin and St. Christopher, we met a French ship with a large sloop in company ; he screamed at us, as if he sought to commit some hostility towards us, but I kept my course, heeding him not. I let the prince's flag fly aloft, and the red flag behind. When he saw this, he turned about and ran a good distance on my lee. Towards evening, we arrived at the roadstead of St. Martin,

* Evidently a misprint for the 10th.

and let our anchor fall. We found before the fort, three fly-boats under Dirck Femmesz. of Hoorn, two from Waterland, and the third an Englishman.

The 11th of September, as I lay before the fort with my yacht, the above-named master of the fly-boats came on board, and inquired if I had not met a French ship. I said, "Yes, sir." And whether he had not attacked me? I said, "No." Had we been a small ship, he perhaps would have done so: for he had sworn to pay off the first Hollander whom he should meet, because they had shot and killed two men out of his vessel, which was not creditable to them. He told me that this French ship had come into the harbour some days ago, and that the captain was a Knight of Malta, and the vessel a royal yacht of the King of France, in search of Spaniards. When he was taken ashore by the commander of the fort, he inquired whether there was any one who could speak French. The captain of the soldiers understanding French, he requested that the captain might go with him to interpret what should be said. So the captain went from the fort with this Knight in his skiff to the fly-boats. Having reached them, the Knight desired that they should sell him a barrel of tar, and used good language. He had long sailed in the West Indies; but they gave him a rude answer,—that they did not wish to have him in their ships—if the captain of the fort wished to come on board their ships he might, but he must depart with the boat. The Knight stood perplexed at such an answer, when he had met them with every courtesy. At length he said to the captain, his interpreter, that they would return to the fort, (as) he wished to make his complaints to the commander-in-chief. Coming to the commander, he exhibited his royal commission, and inquired of the commander whether he had not as much right to go in the roadstead where these fly-boats were, as they?—that they were friends;—that all the ports and harbors in France were open to us. The commander said, "Yes." Then the Frenchman weighed anchor, and wished to come to anchor by them in order to careen his ship a little, as the water was shallow there. When they saw the Frenchman had weighed his anchor, they hauled one behind the other, and began to fire upon him, and shot two of his men; when the Frenchman again let his anchor fall, went to the fort and complained of the hostilities which these brutes had com-

mitted against him, and desired that the commander, with his officers, should take note thereof; and made his protest. But he was lost on his return voyage, with his ship, people and all, which has caused great comfort to these shipmasters, as he would otherwise have made sport enough for them; but the quarrel was thereby terminated. This we learned afterwards.

The 12th of September, I let the ship have room, but the capture of a whale brought me to anchor. In New Netherland and in Patria, this would have been a valuable prize. This day the ship New Netherland arrived here, which I had left lying at St. Vincent to refresh. With her also arrived the ship Gelderia, together with a ship of the Company, and also two vessels from Hoorn, Cornelis Jansz. Niels, master. The master of the Company's ship, the Falcon, was Gerrit Jansz.

The 27th of this month, we had our cargo of salt, as much as we wanted, and made ourselves again ready to sail to Nevis, to take in wood and water, because they were both better there than at St. Christopher, and there is also a fine sandy bay for the boats to land. The captains of the vessels, who had committed the hostilities against the Frenchman, inquired of me whether they might sail with me to Nevis, in order to provide themselves with wood and water, so as to sail directly for Holland, as they were afraid of the Frenchman, who had called out to them that he wished to meet them when they went to take in water; and they did not mount more than six or eight guns. I gave them for answer, that I was willing that they should sail with me, because they were our citizens, though I would not prevent any hostility of the Frenchman happening to them, and that my ship was to be defended as well as theirs. If they wished, however, to sail with me, they could.

The 29th, weighed anchor with my yacht to get under sail, but they remained. By evening I arrived before the Island of Nevis. I went ashore to the governor, an Englishman, named Littleton. He requested me to take aboard some captive Portuguese, and to put them, on my way to St. Christophers, on board an English ship called Captain Stone's; which I could not refuse him, if I had them only three or four hours in the ship. Martin Thysz., from Zealand, had put these Portuguese ashore here.

The 1st of November, took my leave of the governor of

Nevis, and weighed anchor. At noon, came to the great roadstead where the English were. There was a governor, named Sir Warner. Here I immediately got rid of the Portuguese prisoners, gave them over to the Englishman, who wished to sail in company with me to St. Martin.

The 2d, weighed anchor, with my yacht and the Englishman, of London, who had the Portuguese prisoners, whom he was to carry to Porto Rico. He left his barge behind, to follow him with some goods to St. Martin. We arrived in the evening at the anchorage before St. Martin, where we found the whole fleet there still which we had left there. I asked the captains of the fly-boats why they had not followed me when I weighed anchor. They answered that they thanked me for the offer which I had made them, but they had determined to remain by each other, and expected that they would be ready together, and the Gelderland would go with them.

The 4th, the Englishman expecting his boat from St. Christophers, knew not what it meant that it staid so long, as it should have followed us at noon. This Englishman wished much to sail with me to the latitude of Porto Rico, which I must pass.

The 5th of this month, took my leave at the fort of our governor and the captains, and weighed anchor with my yacht also; having a fair sail set, I could not wait longer for the Englisman's boat. We understood afterwards that this boat was placed in great distress; that it was driven to the leeward by a strong wind, and being in want of provisions and water, the men cast lots whom they should first kill for the others to eat for food; having at length felled one, they fed themselves therewith, till they finally reached the island of Saba, where they subsisted on what they found there, and were afterwards recovered in great distress, but he who was killed was eaten up for their subsistence.

The 14th, in the thirty-second degree of latitude, the Bermudas to the east of us, encountered a severe storm from the north-west; the water turned round as if it were an hurricane; it blew so, that standing on either side we could not understand each other. I feared when I saw the yacht, that it would be stranded, so dreadful was it to see so small a yacht, of *ten lasts*, save itself from such a storm. This storm continued until the 18th, but towards the last the wind veered entirely west.

The 1st of December, threw the lead, in the thirty-ninth degree of latitude, in fifty-seven fathoms, sandy bottom; found out afterwards that we were then *fourteen or fifteen miles** from the shore. This is a flat coast. Wind westerly.

The 2d, threw the lead in fourteen fathoms, sandy bottom, and smelt the land, which gave a sweet perfume,† as the wind came from the north-west, which blew off land, and caused these sweet odours. This comes from the Indians setting fire, at this time of year, to the woods and thickets, in order to hunt; and the land is full of sweet-smelling herbs, as sassafras, which has a sweet smell. When the wind blows out of the north-west, and the smoke too is driven to sea, it happens that the land is smelt before it is seen. The land can be seen when in from thirteen to fourteen fathoms. Sand-hills are seen from the thirty-fourth to the fortieth degree, and the hills rise up full of pine-trees, which would serve as masts for ships.

The 3d of the same month, saw the mouth of the South bay, or South river, and anchored on sandy ground at fourteen fathoms; because it blew hard from the north-west, which is from the shore, and as we could not, in consequence of the hard wind, sail in the bay, we remained at anchor.

The 5th, the wind south-west, we weighed anchor, and sailed into the South bay, and lay, with our yacht, in four fathoms water, and saw immediately a whale near the ship. Thought this would be royal work—the whales so numerous—and the land so fine for cultivation.

The 6th, we went with the boat into the river, well manned, in order to see if we could speak with any Indians, but coming by our *house*,‡ which was destroyed, found it well beset with palisades in place of breastworks, but it was almost burnt up. Found lying here and there the skulls and bones of our people, and the heads of the horses and cows which they had brought with them, but perceiving no Indians, the business being undone, came on board the boat, and let the gunner fire a shot in order to see if we could find any trace of them the next day.

* Forty-two or forty-five English miles. In this translation the miles are according to the Dutch standard; one Dutch being equal to three English miles.

† Kalm speaks of the same smell at about the same place.

‡ The fort before spoken of.

The 7th, in the morning, we thought we saw some smoke near our destroyed house ;—we landed on the opposite side. On this side the river, before the beach, there is something of a sand-hill. Coming to the beach, looked over the river near the *house* where we had been the day before, and where we thought in the morning we had seen signs of smoke, but saw nothing. As I had a cousin of mine with me from Rotterdam, named Heyndrick de Liefde, and as a large gull was flying over our heads, I told him to shoot at it once, as he had a fowling-piece with him, and he being a good shot on the wing, brought it down. With it came a shout from two or three Indians, who were lying in the weeds on the other side of the river by the destroyed house. We called to them to come over to us. They answered that we must come into the river with our boat. We promised to do so in the morning, as the water was then low, and that we would then talk with them, and we went back to the boat. Going aboard, we resolved to sail in the river with the yacht, as otherwise in an open boat we might be in danger of their annoyance.

The 8th of December, we sailed into the river before our destroyed fort, well on our guard. The Indians came to the edge of the shore, near the yacht, but dared not come in. At length, one ventured to come aboard the yacht, whom we presented with a cloth dress, and told him we desired to make peace. Then immediately more came running aboard, expecting to obtain a dress also, whom we presented with some toys, and told the one to whom we had given the cloth garment, that we had given it to him because he had most confidence in us—that he was the first one who came in the yacht, and should they come the next day with their chief called *Sakimas*, we would then make a firm peace, which they call *rancontyn mareuit*. An Indian remained on board of the yacht at night, whom we asked why they had slain our people, and how it happened. He then showed us the place where our people had set up a column, to which was fastened a piece of tin, whereon the arms of Holland were painted. One of their chiefs took this off for the purpose of making tobacco-pipes, not knowing that he was doing amiss. Those in command at the house made such an ado about it, that the Indians, not knowing how it was, went away and slew the chief who had done it, and brought a token of the dead to the house to those in command, who

told them that they wished they had not done it, that they should have brought him to them, as they wished to have forbidden him not to do the like again. They then went away, and the friends of the murdered chief incited their friends—as they are a people like the Italians, who are very revengeful—to set about the work of vengeance. Observing our people out of the house, each one at his work, that there was not more than one inside, who was lying sick, and a large mastiff, who was chained—had he been loose they would not have dared to approach the house—and the man who had command, standing near the house, three of the stoutest Indians, who were to do the deed, bringing a lot of beaver-skins with them to exchange, sought to enter the house. The man in charge went in with them to make the barter; which being done, he went to the loft where the stores lay, and in descending the stairs, one of the Indians seized an axe, and cleft his head so that he fell down dead. They also relieved the sick man of life; and shot into the dog, who was chained fast, and whom they most feared, twenty-five arrows before they could despatch him. They then proceeded towards the rest of the men, who were at their work, and going among them with pretensions of friendship, struck them down. Thus was our young colony destroyed, causing us serious loss.

The 9th, the Indians came to us with their chiefs, and sitting in a ring, made peace. Gave them some presents of duffels, bullets, hatchets, and various Nuremberg trinkets. They promised to make a present to us, as they had been out a-hunting. They then departed again with great joy of us, that we had not remembered what they had done to us, which we suffered to pass, because we saw no chance of revenging it, as they dwelt in no fixed place. We began to make preparations to send our sloop to sea, and to set up a kettle for whale-oil, and to erect a lodging-hut of boards.

Anno 1633. The 1st of January, I went in the morning, with the yacht, the Squirrel, about eight hours' sail up the South river, to see whether I could obtain any beans from the Indians, as our stock-fish was consumed, and the porridge, now doubled, began to grow short. Towards evening we were stopped, as it was calm, and the ice, which the tide brought down, opposed us, and we cast anchor in eight fathoms. Saw a whale at the mouth of the South river.

The 2d, in the morning, fine and pleasant, saw two

large whales near the yacht. Wished much that we could have had the sloop, with the harpooners, which was lying at Swanendael. We weighed anchor with the tide, and by evening came a good mile before Reed Island, where we cast anchor, and saw fires on the land. Supposed that they were made by Indians out a-hunting; but an hour afterwards a canoe came alongside. They said that they were a-hunting, but would not come aboard, from which we drew unfavourable conclusions; but they answered they would come aboard early in the morning.

The 4th, after we had chopped some wood, as it began to freeze, weighed anchor with the tide, made sail, and came within cannon-shot of Red Hook, where we anchored before a kill, because it began to freeze; so that in case the ice should stop us, we could haul in there to secure the yacht.

The 5th, we weighed anchor in the morning, and sailed before the little fort named Fort Nassau, where formerly some families of the West India Company had dwelt. Some Indians had assembled there to barter furs, but I desired to trade for their Turkish beans, because we had no goods to exchange for peltries, and our stores had been given away at Swanendael for the purpose of making the peace, so that there were not more than two pieces of cloth left of our goods, and two kettles, for which we wanted corn. We observed that the Indians were very *scrupulous** after that. They told us that we ought to haul into the Timmer-kill. There was an Indian of the Sankitans, who cautioned us not to go entirely into the kill, as she knew that they intended to make an attack upon us. When we told her that if she would relate to us everything in regard to the attack, we would give her a cloth garment, as we did. She confessed to us that they had killed some Englishmen, who had gone into Count Ernest's river in a sloop.

The 6th, we weighed anchor, and came to again before the Timmer-kill, in order to see fully what the Indians would do. While lying there, a crowd of Indians came to trade, bringing beaver-skins with them, and being forty-two or forty-three strong. A portion of them began to play tunes with reeds, in order that they might not cause in us any suspicion, but we kept ourselves strictly upon our guard, as there were only seven of us in the yacht, and there were

* Shy.

forty-two or forty-three of the Indians. When we found the traffic at its height, we ordered them to go ashore immediately, or we would shoot them all. Their Sachem took an armful of beaver-skins which he wanted to present to us in order to tempt us, but we desired them not, and gave him for answer that they must make their way to the shore, as we knew that they had evil designs in their heads, that Manetoe (that is, the Devil, whom they call Manetoe) had told us so. They went ashore again, and their villainy was frustrated, God be praised and thanked! When a few are on their guard against this people, there is, with God's help, no difficulty with the Indians. Moreover, I may observe, that those in the Company's sloops, who give the Indians too much liberty, get into trouble thereby, which they might otherwise prevent with friendship. These Indians were from Red Hook, otherwise called Mantes, and had a parcel of English jackets on, which gave me more cause of suspicion, as those were not clothing for them, or trading goods. Whilst they were on the land, there came three or four others, who desired that we would trade for their goods; but we answered them that we did not want any beaver-skins, but wished corn for food.

The 7th, the chief, whom they call Sachema, of the Armewaninge, came to us, who were then their neighbours. His name was Zeepentor, and to him we interpreted our adventure. He said he had heard that they had been on board of our boat strong. He requested us to return soon to the Timmer-kill with the yacht, whereat I was suspicious. I told my interpreter to ask him why he was not willing to bring the corn here. He answered that where we were lying, it was too miry and muddy to get on board, and it was too cold to go round the mud. So we said to him that we would go to the fort again, where it was hard and dry to come aboard, with which he was well content, and was again conveyed to the shore, saying that when we arrived at the fort, he would come aboard again.

The 8th, weighed anchor early in the morning, and came to again before the fort, which we saw was full of Indians, and more and more constantly coming. This gave us no favorable impression, because of the great numbers of the Indians. When they had all assembled in the fort, a canoe, —which is a boat hollowed out of a tree—came from the fort to board us, in which were nine Sachems from nine different

places about there. I saw among them those who had intended to destroy us; they had thrown off the English clothes, and put on those made of skins, which I immediately mentioned to my interpreter. The nine seated themselves in a circle and called us to them, saying they saw that we were afraid of them, but that they came to make a lasting peace with us, whereupon they made us a present of ten beaver-skins, which one of them gave us, with a ceremony with each skin, saying in whose name he presented it; that it was for a perpetual peace with us, and that we must banish all evil thoughts from us, for they had now thrown away all evil. I wanted to make presents to them through the interpreter, to each one an axe, adze, and pair of knives, but they refused them, declaring that they had not made us presents in order to receive others in return, but for the purpose of a firm peace, which we took for truth.

The 8th of January, we wished to give them something for their wives, but they said we must give it to them on shore. As it was late, they went ashore again, and said they would come the next day with corn, and send aboard that evening seven or eight youth, which showed a good peace with them.

The 9th, they came aboard again in the morning, and brought Indian corn of different colours, for which we exchanged duffels, kettles, and axes. We also obtained some beaver-skins, all in good feeling. There came this day fifty of them into the yacht, but we kept ourselves constantly on our guard.

The 10th, in the morning, traded for some beaver and corn; and at noon drifted off with the ebb tide, and by noon came to anchor on the bar at Jaques Island, where we remained one tide.

The 11th, weighed anchor in the morning, and by evening arrived about a half-a-mile above Minqua's kill, where we anchored, and saw a whale there that evening six or seven times. We were surprised to see a whale seven or eight miles up into fresh water.

The 12th, weighed anchor again, and arrived at the mouth of the river, where the thicket is.

The 13th, weighed anchor with the ebb, and at noon came to the ship at Swanendael, where our friends were rejoiced to see us. We found that they had shot two whales, but they furnished little oil.

The 18th, the goods were placed in our yacht, and we sailed again up the South river. By evening arrived between Minqua's kill and Reed Island, where we came to anchor. It began to freeze. We anchored here because the tide was running down.

The 19th, weighed anchor with the tide, and came within a mile of Jaques Island. As it began to freeze, and it was difficult to go on, it became necessary to haul into a kill which was near us. Found it a fine creek, where the water was two fathoms deep at high tide; but the current was strong, and not above thirty feet wide. The ice began to trouble us some by the rubbing of the current. We quickly cut a parcel of trees, and fastened them in the ground, before and behind, in order to lie clear of the ice. This is a fine country, in which many vines grow wild, so that we gave it the name of Wyngært's kill. Went out daily, while here, to shoot. Shot many wild turkeys, weighing from thirty to thirty-six pounds. Their great size and very fine flavour are surprising. We were frozen up in this kill from the 19th to the 3rd of February. During this time, perceived no Indians, though we saw here and there, at times, great fires on the land, but we saw neither men nor canoes, because the river was closed by the ice.

The 3d of February, we hauled out of the kill, as the river was open again, and sailed to Fort Nassau, where we had left the Indians before, but found no one there now, and saw no Indians. It began to freeze again, and we hauled into a kill over against the fort, as we were apprehensive, if we should be frozen in there, we might be in danger. When we had lain in this kill, eight days before the ice broke, there came a canoe, in which sat an old Indian with a squaw, who brought with them some maize and beans, of which we bought a parcel. We could not understand from the Indian how it was that we saw no Indians. It seemed as if he were unwilling to tell us; he appeared astonished that he had escaped, ran frequently ashore, looked to and fro, so that we could perceive there must be something. We hauled the next day out of the kill, and were carried between the cakes of ice and the shore, which we could not prevent with our yacht.

The 11th, full fifty Indians came over the river from the fort upon the ice, with canoes, directly to our yacht, so that they could step in it from the shore, and spoke to us. They

were Minquas, who dwell among the English of Virginia. They came on a warlike expedition, and were six hundred strong. They were friendly to us, but it would not do to trust them too far. I determined, as the flood-tide began to make, that we must haul into the mouth of the kill, so that they could not come upon us on foot and master us. Hauling out of the kill about five-and-twenty paces, we could not get any further, because there was not water enough. I told the master of the yacht, that he must direct the crew to throw some ballast overboard, but he could not induce them to do it. I then went to them, and asked them whether they would rather trust to the mercy of these barbarians, or throw away the ballast. They answered that while we were in the river, our lives were at the mercy of the ice. I replied that God, who had so long aided us, would help us. Finally, I said that I had three flasks of brandy in my locker, and would give them one of them, if they would throw the ballast overboard, and we would all help to do it. The yacht was now driven by the current and with the ice and the ebb tide, which was most spent. We were a thousand paces below the kill, between two high pieces of ice, which had fallen on the shore; this happened at night-fall. They all raised a great shout, when they saw that we were driven nearer to the river. In the morning, at day-break, they saw that we were lying between the two pieces of ice, with the bowsprit over the shore, and came running to the yacht. We stood, eight of us, on our arms.

The 12th, we kept them off, as they sought to come into the yacht by the bowsprit, while we were lying, bow on land, between the two pieces of ice. At length the water rose, so that the yacht and the ice floated, and we were to be driven at God's mercy with the ice, which was our great enemy, while the land was our enemy on account of the Indians. We were finally driven up the river, where there was a dry sand-bar running most to the middle of the river. We were afraid we would be driven upon it by the ice, when God provided two canoes to float by us, which we immediately held before the bow, one on each side, and broke the ice with them. Then setting the foresail, as there was a good wind, in order to sail up the river with the tide, we passed, by the aid of God, the Vogelsant, which was our great peril at this place, and arrived at the beautiful island when the tide began to run, and we managed to get to the shore, with the side

to the shore lengthwise with the bow. At last, the water began to fall rapidly, and we found that the bank was bold. We immediately set about making the mast fast to a good stout tree on land, by means of a rope, and to intrench ourselves behind stakes. The next day, the 13th, three Indians of the Armewamen came, who were at the yacht before. They told us that they were fugitives—that the Minquas had killed some of their people, and they had escaped. They had been plundered of all their corn, their houses had been burnt, and they had escaped in great want, compelled to be content with what they could find in the woods, and came to spy out in what way the Minquas had gone away—the main body of their people lying about five or six hours' journey distant, with their wives and children. They told us also, that the Minquas had killed ninety men of the Sankiekens; that they would come to us the next day, when the sun was in the south-east, as they were suffering great hunger, and that the Minquas had all left and gone from us, back to their country.

The 14th, at night, it began to rain hard, and the wind was from the south-west, which made it warm. In the morning we had high-water, which caused the yacht to float finely. We loosened the rope from the tree, to which it had been made fast, in order to get from the yacht, because the shore was so bold there, and let her drift into the river. As the ice was already very soft, like snow, we resolved not to wait for the Indians, as they had been driven away, and could not assist us in those things for which we had come, so that it was a hopeless voyage for us. Going down the river, we arrived below the Minqua's kill, where we took in some stone for ballast, which we could not obtain elsewhere in the morning. This is a very fine river, and the land all beautifully level, full of groves of oak, hickory, ash, and chestnut trees, and also vines which grow upon the trees. The river has a great plenty of fish, the same as those in our fatherland, perch, roach, pike, sturgeon, and similar fish. Along the sea-coast are codfish, the different kinds of fish which are in our fatherland, and others. After we had taken in some ballast, we went further down the river, and came to its mouth. We fished once with our seines, and caught in one draught as many as thirty men could eat of perch, roach, and pike.

The 20th, we weighed our anchor, and with a north-west

wind sailed out of the bay, which is ten miles long, and so wide, that in the middle of it you can hardly see from one shore to the other. It is full of shoals on both sides, being from six to seven fathoms deep, but is deepest on the west side. In order to run up by soundings, as you come from sea to Cape Hinloopen, which lies in thirty-eight degrees and twenty minutes, the shoal of the bank, which stretches from Cape Hinloopen over the bay, reaches Cape May, and when you have passed this a mile and a half, and come into the river, so that Cape Hinloopen is south of you, run in then north-west along the west shore, and you will be out of danger of the banks, and keep the west side, where you should keep sounding. If it be less than two fathoms, and if the ship be a large one, you must go direct to the South river. When you come to the mouth of the river, where it is full two miles wide, there is a shoal before it, on which, at low tide, there is not more than six or seven feet of water. You must then put the helm a-starboard, and you will see a rough point ahead on the west side, along which you must hold your course; and there it is deep enough, the water being three and a half fathoms at low tide, but inside, in the river, it is six or seven fathoms. The tide rises and falls here from five to six feet. By evening, we arrived again at the ship, in which there was great rejoicing to see us, as we had been gone over a month. They did not imagine that we had been frozen up in the river, as no pilot or astrologer could conceive, that in the latitude from the thirty-eighth and a half to the thirty-ninth, such rapid running rivers could freeze. Some maintain that it is because it lies so far west; others adduce other reasons; but I will tell how it can be, from experience and what I have seen, and that is thus: inland, stretching towards the north, there are high mountains, covered with snow, and the north and north-west winds blow over the land from these cold mountains, with a pure, clear air, which causes extreme cold and frost, such as is felt in Provence and Italy, which I have often experienced when I was at Geneva, when the wind blew over the land from the high mountains, making it as cold as it was in Holland. I have found, by experience, in all countries, during winter, that when the wind blows from the land, the hardest frost makes. It is so in New Netherland also, for as soon as the wind is south-west, it is so warm that they may go almost naked in the woods, with only a shirt on them.

The 5th of March, determined to make a voyage to the English in Virginia, as we had failed to obtain corn in the South river, in consequence of the war among the Indians, as before related, by which we were placed in such danger, and the grain of the Indians was destroyed; and as we thought that we would not be able to find a sufficient store of it at Fort Amsterdam, on the East river, to serve us on our return voyage to Holland, we therefore deemed it advisable to sail to the English in Virginia. Although there had never been any one there from this quarter, I said, as I had escaped the danger in the South river, I would be the first one of our nation to venture to the English in Virginia, from these parts, as the distance is not more than thirty miles from the South river or Cape Hinloopen.

The 6th, we weighed anchor, and laid our course along the shore, south-southwest. In the evening it became calm, and we anchored in six fathoms, sandy bottom, the wind north-west off the shore.

The 7th, in the morning, at daylight, we weighed anchor, and sailed along the weather-shore. Found that the coast ran from Cape Hinloopen, about eight miles south-southwest, and north-northeast, then changed again two points southwest and north-east. We coasted along in six fathoms, till we found it began to be shoally, and I saw that the water began to change. I told the captain of the yacht he should throw the lead once, in order to see how deep it was. He said that he had just sounded in six fathoms. I replied that I could not believe it was so deep, for the water changed too much, when he, with a frown, threw out the lead, and there was a fathom and a half of water. I was startled, though we had gone with the yacht where it was only six feet deep. We were now about a mile and a half from the shore, and immediately turned to it, as I saw that it changed less there than towards the sea. Immediately found again two, three, and four fathoms of water; ran then from the bank to the sea, and obtained seven and eight fathoms, and saw a high point before us, which I guessed to be about seven or eight miles from Smith's Island or Cape Charles, but from this point across the sea, almost to Cape Charles, it is full of shoals, so that it will not do for a large ship to come nearer than nine fathoms, on account of the bank, which lies three or four miles in the sea, and runs along the whole coast to the North river, and on which sometimes there will not be

more than five fathoms, or four fathoms and a half of water. Inside of this again, towards the land, you will get ten, eleven, and nine fathoms, for this is a flat coast, and the land is seen first in thirteen or fourteen fathoms. As it was dark at evening, we came to anchor in nine-fathom water, in order that we might not pass by the Bay of Virginia in the night. After we had been lying there about an hour, a storm began to blow from the south-east straight on shore—a lee-shore for us. We put the stout boat's nose to the wind, and took down the topmast at the same time, and she lay there and rode as if she had been a fish.

The 8th, when we looked out in the morning, we found that it had been snowing all night, for the snow was more than a couple of feet thick. The captain came and inquired whether we should weigh anchor. I answered he must use seamanship; as he saw that it still blew hard, with a heavy sea, and no sight of land, it was best to remain, as we were well secured, and wait for good, clear weather. At noon, it began to clear, the wind coming from the south-west with a clear, pure air; and we saw that we were lying right before the bay, Smith's Island north of us. Sailed over to Cape Henry in order to run in by it. Found that from this Cape the land trended north and south. Ran into the north of it with a light breeze. Found at Cape Henry, a fine wide and broad bay. We ran in until we had three fathoms water. Ran out again, and laid our course to the north, and at evening came to a bank, where, in consequence of the darkness, we anchored in fifteen-feet water. This shoal reaches to Elizabeth river.

The 9th, sounded the depth, and found only nine feet water, so that it had fallen six where we were lying. The wind blew from the east, so that we were on a lee-shore, and were ignorant, as none of us had ever been here. We weighed anchor and sailed from the shore. The bank stretches from the west side more than two *parts* over to the east shore. It is deep along the east shore. There was a fort newly-made at that time. The land is called by the English, Point Comfort. We ran in here—it being ten, eight, and seven fathoms deep—and saw before us a point stretching out about three miles, which the English call *Newport News*. As you come to the east side from the sea, you must see that you bring this point of Newport News within the point where the fort is situated, otherwise you

will be in danger of being shipwrecked, but keep the before-named hook, which you can see afar off, a good piece outside. As you pass by the fort to Newport News, you will see on the side of the fort a large bay. Let your anchor fall, so that you may not be driven within six fathoms. This bay is the Bay of *Kicketan*, and has a river running into it, which you may enter with a ship of fifty lasts. On the west side, opposite, is Elizabeth's river, into which you can sail five or six miles with a large ship. After we had lain a day in this Bay of Kicketan, a pilot was sent on board to pilot us to Jamestown, where the governor holds his court on behalf of the King of England, and where we took an English merchant with us.

The 10th we sailed up the river. When we came to the before-mentioned point of Newport News, we landed and took in water. A fine spring lies inside the shore of the river, convenient for taking water from. All the ships come here to take in water on their way home. After we had procured some water, we sailed on, and came at evening to a kill, in which a large ship might lay, called *Blank Point*. We went ashore there, where one of the most distinguished citizens lived, named Captain Matthews. We were compelled to stay all night, and were well treated.

The 11th, took our leave of this Captain, and went aboard of the yacht again, and proceeded on. Here, the river is full three miles wide, but shoally, so that it is only by sounding the passage that you can get along. It is only a pilot's channel. At noon, we came to Littleton, where we landed, and where there resided a great merchant, named Mr. *Menifit*, who kept us to dinner, and treated us very well. The river is half as wide as before. Here was a garden of one morgen,* full of Provence roses, apple, pear, and cherry trees, the various fruits of Holland, with different kinds of sweet-smelling herbs, such as rosemary, sage, marjoram, and thyme. Around the house were plenty of peach-trees, which were hardly in blossom. I was astonished to see this kind of tree, which I had never seen before on this coast. An express order came to us here, from the governor, who desired to see us, when we took our leave of the merchant, went aboard, and having weighed anchor, in two hours came to anchor before Jamestown, where the governor holds his court.

* Two acres

The 11th, went ashore, where the governor stood upon the beach, with some halberdeers and musketeers, to welcome us. On my setting foot upon the land, he came up to me, and bid me heartily welcome. He inquired of me where I came from. I answered him, from the South Bay of New Netherland. He asked how far it was from their bay. I said thirty miles. He then proceeded with me to his house, where he bid me welcome with a Venice glass of sack, and then brought out his chart, and showed me that the South Bay was called by them My Lord Delaware's Bay, who had encountered foul weather there some years ago, and, finding the place full of shoals, thought it was not navigable. They had, therefore, never looked after it since, but it was their King's land, and not New Netherland. I answered him that there was a fine river there, that for ten years no Englishman had been there, and that we for many years had had a fort there, called Fort Nassau. It was strange to him, that he should have such neighbours, and have never heard of them. He had, indeed, heard that we had a fort in the fortieth degree of latitude, at Hudson's river as they called it, and that a sloop was sent there last September, with seven or eight men, to see whether there was a river there, who had not returned, and whether they had perished at sea or not, he did not know. I told him that we had seen Indians in the South river, who had English jackets on, and had also understood from an Indian, who gave us warning, that the Indians had run down an English sloop there, in which were seven or eight Englishmen. He then remarked they must have been his people; otherwise, they who had been sent to discover the South river, would have returned home long ago. Finally, he said there was land enough,—we should be good neighbours with each other, and that we were in no danger from them, if the people of New England did not come too near us, and dwelt at a distance from us. I remained to sup with the governor, and he insisted on my staying the night at his house.

The 12th, arrived here Captain Stone, whom I had left at St. Martin, in the West Indies. He told me that he had waited fourteen days for his boat, which suffered such distress, as I have mentioned before, that they had cast lots whom they should kill for food. He also said that the Portuguese prisoners, whom I had brought from Nevis, and had delivered to him at St. Christopher's, as before related,

he had brought to Porto Rico, and that he was very well treated by the Spanish governor. He had hastened his voyage here to Virginia, and was very glad to meet me. He was very well received by the governor. He was from London, from the Great House. I remained at dinner with the governor, and as we sat at the meal, Captain Stone asked why the governor had an interpreter for me, as I could speak English; at least, I had spoken English to them in the West Indies. The governor said he did not know that, and inquired whether I could also speak French. I said "Yes." Whether I understood Italian. I answered in the affirmative. Whether I had been in Italy, and in Africa, and in the East Indies. I said I had. He was astonished that I had begun so early to command. Finally, there sat at the table an Englishman, who had been in the East Indies at the same time that I was there, and who asked me who commanded the English in the East Indies when I was there. I gave him the name; and when I could see him, I looked at him well, and he at me. Then this commander said that mountains could not, but men who go and see the world can, meet each other. Besides, the commander had assisted me with provisions while I was there. This commander was named Sir John Harvey.

The 18th, took leave of the governor, who sent half-a-dozen goats on board, to take with us, which he made a present to our governor, with a ram. He had understood that there were no goats at Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland. We set sail at once, and arrived at evening at Blank Point, at the Councillor's, to whose place we had before sailed in ascending the river. Here we bought some swine, which we killed and salted.

The 20th, we took our leave of this Councillor, whose name was Captain Matthews, and proceeded to *Kicketan*, and anchored at evening before the point of Newport News, where we took in water. Here lived a gentleman of the name of Goegen. I was astonished to observe of the English people, that they lose their servants in gambling with each other. I told them that I had never seen such work in Turk or Barbarian, and that it was not becoming Christians.

The 21st, we arrived again before Kicketan. There, also, we bought some provisions, while we were waiting for a good wind. These English Virginias are a fine country; altogether a beautiful flat land, full of all kinds of fine large

trees—oak, hickory, chestnut, ash, cypress, and cedar, and other kinds. There come here yearly, between thirty and forty ships of various sizes, from two hundred lasts and upwards, mounting twenty-eight, twenty-four, and nineteen guns, which come here to load tobacco, and carry it to England. The entrance of this bay is five miles wide, from Cape Henry to Cape Charles. Many fine rivers run out, like those on the east side. It turns to the north, and a large ship can sail up it full eighty miles. Thirty miles up the river lies a large island, two miles long, which the English call the Isle of Kent, upon which many of them reside, under one Captain Klaver's * government, who carries on there a great trade in peltries. Here is another river. The first after the East river, running to the west, is called York river, which is navigable with a large ship full twenty miles. Then comes the Pette-womeque (Potomac) river, navigable thirty miles with a large ship. The river where Jamestown—in Dutch, called *Jacob Stadt*—is situated, runs mostly west, and is navigable about forty miles, with a large ship, to an island called Henrico. This island is inhabited on every side by the English, and there run into it all around, small kills, from five miles long and less, into which a good-sized ship may enter. There are great numbers of fish of all kinds, the same as in the rivers of Holland; also, birds of various kinds; swans, geese, ducks, wild geese, partridges, and wild turkeys, the same as in New Netherland. There is an objection which the English make. They say that during the months of June, July, and August, it is very unhealthy; that their people, who have then lately arrived from England, die during these months, like cats and dogs, whence they call it the (sickly) season. When they have this sickness, they want to sleep all the time, but they must be prevented from sleeping by force, as they die if they get asleep. This sickness, they think, arises from the extreme heat that exists there. Then, again, when it has been a half-an-hour very hot, if the wind shifts and blow from the northwest, it immediately becomes so cold, that an overcoat may be worn. Thus, this country appears to lie in the dividing line between the heat and the cold, while New Netherland is beautifully tempered.

The 28th, weighed anchor, and set sail with a good south-west wind, along the coast north-easterly.

* Clayborne.

The 29th, we arrived again in the South Bay at Swanendael, at our ship, where we were very welcome. Found that our people had caught seven whales, but there were only thirty-two cartels of oil obtained, so that the whale-fishery is very expensive, when such meagre fish are caught. We could have done more if we had had good harpooners, for they had struck seventeen fish, and only secured seven, which was astonishing. They had always struck the whales in the tail. I afterwards understood from some Basques, who were old whale-fishers, that they always struck the harpoon in the fore-part of the back. This voyage was an expensive one to us, but not so much, since I had laden a good cargo of salt in the West Indies, which brought a good price. Having put our oil in the ship, taken down our kettle, and hauled in wood and water, we got ready to sail. This bay is, generally, fine flat land, full of the various kinds of pine trees, which I have described. In winter time, from Virginia to Swanendael, there are hundreds of thousands of geese, both gray and white. The country is also full of wild turkeys, and has a great many deer.

The 14th of April, as we were now entirely clear of everything, so as to set sail, we weighed anchor both with the ship and yacht. Whilst we were lying here, there came in during this month of April, hundreds of thousands of wild pigeons, flying from the land over the bay. Indeed, the light could hardly be discerned where they were. Sometimes they flew upon the ship, pressed down by numbers as they came over the bay. Having got under sail, I went again on board the yacht, and the pilots took command of the large ship, for I wished to explore the coast distinctly. Sailed over to Cape May, where the coast began to trend east-northeast and west-southwest. Came, at evening, to the mouth of Egg harbour. Found between Cape May and Egg harbour, a slight sand-beach, full of small, low sand-hills. Egg harbour is a little river or kill, and inside the land is broken, and within the bay are several small islands. Somewhat further up in the same direction, on a slight headland, is a beautiful high wood. In the evening it became very still.

The 15th, in the morning, it was so foggy that we could not see the large ship. We heard the ground swell and surf; threw the lead, and found it eight fathoms deep. Let the anchor fall. It was shelly ground. Fished with a drop-

line, and caught in a couple of hours, eighty-four codfish, which are a very good-flavoured sweet fish, better than those in Newfoundland. It began to blow from the south-west, and to be bright and clear again. So we weighed anchor and made sail. Found ourselves before Barende-gat (Barnegat), where the coast began to stretch to the north-east by north, and south-west by south. At evening we saw the high mountains, which make a high point running along the sea, for the most part east-southeast, and west-southwest. This was the first mountainous land which I met since I came from the south. We sailed that evening to the Sandy Hook, which forms a large bay close by the point, and is also called Godyn's Point, where we anchored that evening in seven-fathom water.

The 16th, weighed anchor, and ran over to Staten Island, all along the shore of which runs a great sand-bank, entirely flat. It is necessary to sound the southeast side, and it will not do to come nearer than from three to four and a half fathoms with a large ship. Arrived at noon before Fort Amsterdam, and found a Company's ship there, called the Soutbergh, with a prize taken on the way, laden with sugar. She had brought a new governor, Wouter Van Twiller of Newkirk. He had been a clerk in the West India Department at Amsterdam. They had left Holland after us. I went ashore to the fort, out of which he came to welcome me, and inquired of me also, how the whale-fishery succeeded. I answered him that I had a sample; but that they were foolish who undertook the whale-fishery here at such great expense, when they could have readily ascertained with one, two, or three sloops in New Netherland, whether it was good fishing or not. Godyn had been a manager of the Company as long as the Company had been in existence, and also of the Greenland Company at Amsterdam, and ought to have known how it at first might have been undertaken with little expense. While we stood thus discoursing, our sloop came from the large ship to the shore, from which we learned that they had come to anchor at Sandy Hook, and would remain there until I gave other orders. In the mean time, I intended to despatch my yacht to New England and New France, to explore the bay.

The 18th, arrived here an Englishman, who came from New England to trade in the river, where there was a merchant named Jacob Eelkes, who had, during the time of the

private association,* navigated and commanded on the river, but whom the Company would not employ, seeking out an unfit person like this governor, whom they had transferred from a clerkship to a governorship, to perform a comedy. This Englishman invited the governor to come and see him. I went with him, in company with a number of the officers, who became intoxicated, and got into such high words, that the Englishman could not understand how it was that there should be such unruliness among the officers of the Company, and that a governor should have no more control over them ; he was not accustomed to it among his countrymen. The Englishman remained six or seven days lying before the fort, and then said he wished to go up the river, and that the land was theirs. This we denied, declaring that they had never made any settlement there. He said that *David Hudson* first discovered this river, and he was an Englishman. We answered that he discovered the river in the year Nine, but he was fitted out at the expense of the East India Company at Amsterdam ; and that the river was now called Mauritius river, after our Prince of Orange.

The 24th, the Englishman weighed anchor and sailed up the river to Fort Orange, where this Jacob Eelkes had formerly resided as commander for the private Company ; when governor Wouter Van Twiller assembled all his forces before his door, had a cask of wine brought out, filled a bumper, and cried out for those who loved the Prince of Orange and him, to do the same as he did, and protect him from the outrage of the Englishman, who was already out of sight sailing up the river. The people all began to laugh at him ; for they understood well how to drink dry the cask of wine, as it was just the thing they wanted, even if there had been six casks, and did not wish to trouble the Englishman, saying they were friends. As I sat at the table with him at noon, I told him that he had committed great folly, as the Englishman had no commission to navigate there, but a paper of the custom-house that he had paid so much duty, and might sail with so many passengers to New England, and not to New Netherland. I said, if it were my matter, I would have helped him away from the fort with *beans* from the eight-pounders, and not permitted him to sail up the river,—

* This refers to the company authorized by the *octroy* of the States General of 11th October, 1614.

would rather have held him back by the tail, as he said he was a man from England. I told him as the English committed some excesses against us in the East Indies, we should take hold of them ; that I had no good opinion of that nation, for they were so proud a nature, that they thought everything belonged to them ; were it an affair of mine, I would send the ship Soutberg after him, and make him haul down the river, and drive him from it until he brought another commission than a custom-house license ; that he was only making sport of him.

The 20th May, I wished to send my yacht to the north by the way of Hell-gate. I also began to make preparations to return with the large ship to Holland, when this governor commenced his pranks of the head, and began again to juggle as if he were drunk. He did not want the yacht to go to the north, and sent alongside of it a *schapan*,—a flat lighter-boat, in which the whole yacht could easily have been contained,—and wanted to take out five or six lasts of store-ballast, when I protested to him, explaining the privileges granted by the College of Nineteen, and approved by the States General, and that I did not wish him to unload the yacht. He then desired to search the yacht, the same as was customary by all princes and potentates, in order that he might see whether there was anything in it that concerned the Company. He then ordered the guns at the angles of the fort to shoot at the yacht, when I ran to where he stood at the angle with the Secretary and one or two of his Council, and told them the land was full of fools ; if they wished to shoot anything, they should have shot at the Englishman, who was violating their river in spite of them. Upon this expostulation they desisted from shooting, and set about preparing a yacht to sail along with our yacht. So they both sailed to the north after I had despatched my yacht.

When we had made everything ready, and were about to take our leave of the governor, he then came to annoy me anew. He did not want me to go with my boat to embark until his boat had first boarded our ship, in order to search her. I opposed it, and told him that she was not to be searched. I was bound home, and if he wished to write any letters, he could do so, and send them after I had gone to my boat. He immediately sent twelve musketeers after me, in order that we should not depart. My boat's crew asked whether they should row away in the boat. I said I would

let them do so, and had they my courage they would. They immediately did so, and the musketeers were ridiculed with shouts and jeers by all the bystanders, who cried out that they should have stopped the Englishman with shot and muskets, from sailing past the fort, and not our own patrons of the country, who sought to promote its interests. In a little while I reached Long Island, where, behind Nut Island,* I had commanded my boat to row. Before I crossed over, I went once more to the fort, to take my leave of the governor. I told him I wished that he had omitted the folly of attempting to prevent my departure by his soldiers, as he had only made himself a subject of sport among his people;—if he desired to write any letters to his masters, the managers, he might send them after me in the bay. I went out and crossed over the bay to my boat at Long Island. Night coming on, and the flood-tide making, I thought it most prudent to let my people row over to Pavonia, and there wait the ebb. Reaching Pavonia, we were well entertained by Michael Poulusz; the officer in charge, who prepared letters to send to his master, whilst we waited for the tide. Our people overslept a little their time, as I had ordered them to be on hand as soon as the ebb began to run. We passed the fort early in the morning by break of day, before the *reveille* was beaten in the fort.

We arrived at noon again at our ship at Sandy Hook. Saw our ship's boat lying on the point, where our people were catching fish with a seine, and went there to tell them to come aboard as soon as they had made a haul or two. The sail-boat from the fort was also alongside, having sailed before us in order to bring their letters to us. They tacked away, and were crossing to see what we were doing on the point with our boat. I went towards them immediately, and, coming by them, they inquired of me what I did with my boat when I passed by the ship. I answered that it did not concern them, so they returned again alongside. In this boat were the Schout, Notelman, and the Secretary, Remunt. Coming aboard, I bid them welcome to the ship; and I had my goods taken from my boat into the ship, among which were a dozen beaver-skins. These, the Secretary said, were confiscated, because they had not been entered at the fort. I told him to take them then; but the Schout said I might

* Now Governor's Island.

let them lie, we were not now at the fort, and let him try our wine, as he was a good bibber, as all of them were. I answered that water was good enough for them, for they might otherwise fall overboard. At length, the Schout asked why we were quarrelling here; he was very thirsty, and would go to the cabin; if there was anything wrong, the Patroon might answer for it in Holland. Because the Schout spoke so well, I told him he might enter the cabin, and I would let him fill a glass from the best cask; if the other one wished to play the fool, he might leave; I was now in my own ship, not under their jurisdiction. The Secretary then said they could send the ship Soutberg after us to board us. I told him they might do so, for the Soutberg had sugar in her, and our crew would be right glad to eat sugar in their groats, as we would have a chance to do. I said to the Secretary, that we were surprised that the West India Company would send such fools into this country, who knew nothing, except to drink; that they could not come to be assistants in the East Indies; and that the Company, by such management, must come to naught. In the East Indies, no one was appointed governor, unless he had first had long service, and was found to be fit for it; first, by serving as an assistant, under-koopman, and afterwards as chief-koopman, and promoted further, according to their merits; but the West India Company sent, in the first instance, as superior officers, persons who never had command in their lives, for which reason it must come to naught. Upon this, they again returned, with their boat, to the fort, which is five miles from Sandy Hook. The bay inside of Sandy Hook is a large one, where fifty to sixty ships can lie, well protected from the winds of the sea. Sandy Hook stretches a full half-mile from the hills, forming a flat sandy beach, about eight or nine paces wide, and is covered with small blue-plum trees, which there grow wild.

The 15th June, we weighed anchor, and made sail for *patria*. While we were getting under sail, an Englishman came sailing towards us, who would have run straight upon the bar, and lost his ship. When I perceived him, I fired a shot to warn him, and sent my boat to him, and he immediately sailed towards me, and perceived that he was not in the right channel. Coming by us, he proved to be an acquaintance,—Captain Stone, of whom I have before spoken, —whose boat had suffered such distress in the West Indies,

and whom I had also met in English Virginia. His ship was laden with corn and young cattle, bound to New England. As he was in want of water, he wished to put in here to take in some. He sought of me, for the sake of our acquaintance, whether I would furnish him a man to pilot him in. I asked our crew whether there was any one of them who wished to make a longer voyage, and who would be transferred to this Englishman; when one offered to make a long voyage, whom I gave over to him, and I laid my course southeasterly to sea, as Long Island lies east and west. The coast here falls off seventeen degrees, or more than a point and a half.

The 17th, changed our course to east by south, at the fortieth degree of latitude, and then ran east, so as to pass in sight of Cowes.

The 29th at break of day, we saw a strange sail, which came upon us before the wind, and hailed him to keep behind. He called to me to send off my boat. I replied I would not. He then put off his boat, and came on board, and I bid him welcome. He was a privateer from Flushing, Captain Frankfort. He asked me how far we were from land. I told him I had yesterday evening examined the reckoning with my pilots, but we disagreed a great deal, as I supposed that we were not fifty miles from Cowes, and they both thought we were over a hundred and twenty miles from land; that he could not understand my reckoning; and that I had seen small sea-mews which do not go further than thirty or forty miles from land. He said my reckoning was right, and we would by evening see Cowes.

The 29th,* the captain requested that I would let my pilots come into the cabin, which I did. He inquired of them, when there, how far they reckoned themselves to be from Cowes and Flores. They answered an hundred miles. He said they had made a bad guess, they would soon see the land at Cowes; that he had been cruising six weeks about here, where he was yesterday evening. After a long discourse, he took his leave of us; he wished us a safe voyage, and we him much booty; gave each other a parting shot, and thus separated.

The 1st of July, in latitude thirty-three, discovered a sail running by the wind in order to come over to us, when

* Misprint for 30th.

the crew began to cry out that it was a Portuguese pirate, and wished to repel him by force. The wind was light. He ran about half a cannon-shot ahead of us, but we could discern no flag. I then asked the crew what they had a mind to do; it was a large ship, and if they had the courage to attack him, to keep away after him, and endeavour to approach him. When we began to come close to him, my crew said that he was a Turk, that the ship was Jan de Begyn's, of Rotterdam, which the Dunkirkers had taken and sold to the Portuguese, and which was afterwards captured by the Turks. I said, with a ship of eighteen guns and fifty men, I was not afraid of one Turk, for I had in my youth been engaged in a fight with two of them, the smallest of which had twenty-eight guns, and the other thirty-three, and three hundred men, while I had only one ship of fourteen guns, and thirty men, and by the help of God, came off with honour. My crew replied, that was a case where it was necessary to defend myself, but here we could get away, and there was no booty for us to take. We then pursued our course again, but when we had got to the leeward of him, he set his sprit-sail as if he were a-going to chase us, when I immediately struck my topsail, in order to wait for him. When he saw this, he tacked about again. Thus we separated from him, and pursued our course.

The 9th, sounded the channel, and found sandy ground. It was the bank which lies south of Ireland.

The 10th, in the morning, we bore away to the north of the Scilly islands; and, according to my reckoning, I sailed fifteen miles over to the land. My under pilot said it was the coast of France. We had had no latitude (observation) in four or five days. Nevertheless, he maintained firmly that it was the coast of France, and made the point of Land's End, a French Cape. According to my chart, we could not have gone so far east on our last course. I let the ship tack, and run to the north, when we immediately obtained the increasing ground of the channel. These knowers of the land were then ashamed of themselves.

The 10th, (?) I told these wiseacres, if they wished to be good pilots, they must observe their course and altitude better another time. I depend upon mine to the last—until some one comes and says he knows the land, then the course and altitude may be set aside.

The 11th, we came near the Lizard. There came also

towards us three ships, and we made everything ready, in case we were compelled to have a fight, but kept close to the shore. As they were very large ships, we would rather have run into Falmouth, if we could have reached there, for the chance was a bad one, for one ship to fight three *wolves*. It was our intention, nevertheless, to do the best—to show that our ancient courage was not gone—although the chances were bad for one merchantman to fight three ships of war, for it is said that many dogs are the death of the hare. At length, as they began to get near us, it became calm, and we careened close to the shore. The admiral, who carried the flag, took a boat ashore, in order to obtain some refreshments at Falmouth, and came on board of us, and told us that they came from the Vice-Admiral of Holland, Liefhebber, of Rotterdam ; and that we need not now have any fear of the Dunkirkers ; it was now in the midst of summer, and our ships of war, under Admiral Dorp, were lying before Dunkirk. They then went from aboard of us to get their refreshments in Falmouth, and we separated, as we supposed. Along the coast of England, it is necessary, sometimes, to sail slowly, though we had a good south-west wind.

The 15th, in the morning, saw two ships before us. One looked like a privateer with a prize. We kept close to the prize. Then he went to the leeward, as if to wait for the prize, but as we approached him he dared not wait for us, and started forward again. We thought he was afraid that we were a Dunkirker. He then sailed away with the other vessel.

The 16th, in the morning early, we were opposite Dover. The privateer was nearer the French coast, with his prize. There came bearing down towards us, from the English coast, thirteen or fourteen ships of war. They were the Lord Admiral Dorp and his squadron. They did not hail us. Near the Downs, the wind north-east, there came three large ships sailing after us, they came along, two after the privateer, and the other to hail us. They told us to send off our boat. I said that I could not, as I was fearful the ship had evil designs, inasmuch as we had, four hours before, seen our whole squadron, and thought that this must be a Dunkirker. We were all ready (to fight), and resolved not to send the boat. At length, he sent his boat off, with a lieutenant, who came on board of us, and who, when he saw what kind of a ship we had, wondered that everything was

so prepared, and that we intended to oppose so large a ship as theirs was. He informed us that their captain was Captain Danckeras, and that the other two ships which had sailed after the privateer, were commanded, one by Admiral Jan Evertsz. of Flushing, and the other by Captain Block. With a head-wind, ran, with the other ships, into the harbour of Dover, where I understood that this privateer was Captain Backer, from Zealand, and the ship was called the Burning Oven, and had, as a prize, a small Holland vessel, with five hundred boxes of sugar, which came from Brazil. He told me he was afraid, when I came sailing behind him, that I would deprive him of his prize, supposing that I was a Dunkirker. We went ashore here at Dover, and learnt that they had suffered great loss last autumn from the French rovers, as well as from the Dunkirkers.

The 18th, the wind from the south-west, weighed our anchor, and took our leave of the ships of war. They followed, and conveyed the privateer to Wieling.

The 20th, saw in the morning, the towers of Egmont, and were becalmed. Saw also there, some sail before us. In the afternoon the wind began again to blow a little.

The 21st, in the morning, with the day, we saw Kyckduyn. A pilot boarded us, and in six hours we reached Lands Diep, where we run for the Helder, so as to touch the shore. Then, God aiding, we came by evening at the Merchantman's Harbour.

The 22d, in the morning I hired a boat, which took me to Medenblick, and proceeded by a wagon to Hoorn, and gave thanks to God for my safe voyage.

The 24th, I returned to Amsterdam, where I found my partners at variance with their associates, the other managers, because I had traded from two to four beaver-skins. That was not a handsome thing, and it was not worth mentioning; especially as the fifteenth article provides that the Patroons might trade where the Company had no clerk or commissary. On this account, our business of making colonies must be suspended in places still uninhabited; so that these managers at Amsterdam have done nothing else than to fight their own shadow, and to drink Rhenish wine in the *Kloveniers-Doelen*,* and the other managers to look

* A famous inn at Amsterdam, so called from the "doelen" or target, at which the "Kloveniers" or archers used to shoot.

after powder and lead in Brazil, and the managers' magazine, and the yearly meetings of the Nineteen. As we could not agree with the Company, and my partners at Amsterdam were all directors, and were continually at variance with their associates, on account of trifles, I separated from them, seeing there was nothing but roguery. The rest I will leave unwritten.

MY SECOND VOYAGE

TO THE

COAST OF AMERICA,

OR THE

WILD COAST IN THE WEST INDIES.

HAVING, with some friends, formed a Company, for the purpose of planting a colony upon the coast of Guiana, otherwise called the Wild Coast; of which Company, Mr. Jan Bicker was one of the chief Patroons, with others, I resolved to go myself as Patroon, to conduct the settlement; and I was the first who went there as such, from this country.

On the 10th of July, 1634, in the ship called the King David, mounting fourteen guns, and having a crew of five-and-twenty men, with thirty planters, in order to make a beginning of the colony, left the Texel, four ships in company,—to wit, two Genoese vessels, and one French ship,—at four o'clock in the afternoon, with a north by west wind, on a course south-west by south. At night the wind blew from the north-west, so that we laid our course with a strong wind and rain, and parted from our company. Took in our topsail.

The 11th, a strong wind as before; our course west-southwest. At noon, saw two strange sails to the leeward. At night it became entirely calm, so that we could not make a steady course.

The 12th, in the morning, it began to blow a little. At noon fell in with three ships which came out of the Maes. Course southerly, with the wind west-southwest. In the first quarter, lay to the north-northeast; and in the second,

tacked again, and ran south-west by west, with a stiff breeze.

The 13th, the wind sharpened up so that we could not sail to the south. At noon, tacked again, and ran north-west, with the wind west-southwest. To-day, dealt out the ration; to wit, two cheeses for the voyage, and other things in the ration-list in proportion. At evening, spoke a vessel which came by us.

The 14th, in the morning, we saw the coast of England, lying west by south, from us about five miles, and at noon sailed through the Straits of Dover, with rough weather and rain. The wind north-northwest, and course west by south, and so passed the *Singels*, and in the evening the *Foreland*, when the wind began to sharpen west-southwest. It changed back and forth during the night, with a stiff breeze.

The 15th, the wind west-southwest, as before; it changed, blowing sometimes from the shore, and then from the sea. Steady rain and wind, so that it seemed as if Neptune were wholly against us; also, had a small storm from west-northwest. Course south-west, with steady rain.

The 16th, the weather began early to moderate a little, and became entirely calm, so that we took in our sails, and let the ship drift. Being out of sight of land, we threw out our bow-anchor, and let it be as long as the tide was running. In about three hours, we were again under sail. Wind south-west; course north-west by west, with fine weather. At night it was entirely calm. Course west by south; the wind north-west.

The 17th, in the morning, it began to blow a little. Set our course west, and west by south, to the Isle of Wight. At noon, it again became calm, so that we threw out our bow-anchor, in order to stem the tide. In three hours, weighed anchor, and set our course for Wight, for the purpose of obtaining some more ballast, as we were lightly ballasted. We arrived before Portsmouth at five o'clock, where we came to anchor, and where I went ashore, and ordered a lighter to go with ballast.

The 18th, took in the ballast, and made everything ready in order to sail again with the next fair wind.

The 20th, in the morning, weighed anchor, and sailed from the Isle of Wight by the needle, with good weather, and a clear sky. The wind north by west; going west by south.

The 21st, early, there was fine weather with a good breeze, and by evening we came to Land's End, lying north of us about five miles. Wind north by west; course west-south-west.

The 1st of August, in the morning, we saw land. It was the Island of Maderia, and was five miles west of us. At noon, saw to the leeward, two sails, and held for them; came up to them about noon. They appeared to be English pirates, and we hailed them, when it was very evident that they had intended to attempt something. Wind north-east; course south by west, with a clear sky.

The 2d, a stiff breeze from the east. Saw in the afternoon the Island of Palms, one of the Canaries. Course south.

The 9th was good weather. At noon, observed the latitude, seventeen degrees and forty minutes, and going west-south-west. Towards evening, saw land rising in three hills, and lying south-west by west, distant about five or six miles. Thought it was the Island of Zæl, but found it was St. Anthony, so that we were much further west than we supposed. Laid our course west; the wind north-west by west.

The 27th, the weather became fine and calm. At noon, got a small breeze west-southwest. Course south, and south by west, with a clear sky. Had here a strong current, which ran to the west. Began to see land birds.

The 3d September, in the morning, sounded in seventy fathoms, with white and black sand. The water appeared entirely green. Sounded again at noon, and found fifty-five fathoms. Wind east; course west, and west by south. Found the stream ran here strong to the north-east, as well as we could judge. Sounded at evening, and found forty-three fathoms, sandy bottom, as before. Latitude, three degrees and fifty-six minutes.

The 4th, weather fine and calm. Sounded in thirty-seven to thirty-five, and thirty-four fathoms. Latitude at night, five degrees and a half, so that we found that the current had carried us to the north-east, since yesterday evening, twenty-three miles. Seeing that we could not reach Wiapocke,—as those who wish to touch at Wiapocke must run to the latitude of three degrees and a half, and then west-southwest, and find black bottom, when they will be about twenty-five miles from Wiapocke, and have seventy fathoms of water,—we cast anchor at evening in twenty-eight fath-

oms, in a clayey bottom. At night, had a hard blow from the south, with rain, but it did not last long.

The 5th, saw land at daylight, between Maruin and Cayana, and found ourselves about six miles below Cayana and the land of Maruin, rising in four high mountains, the middlemost one of which was the highest, and about four miles south-west of us, with a mountain to the west of Maruin. The extreme part of the land of Cayana, was from us about seven miles south-southeast. We sounded in twenty-four, twenty-two, twenty, and seventeen fathoms, on hard ground; and at noon, cast anchor in fourteen fathoms, clay bottom, the Devil's Islands lying west of us about two miles, and appearing, though it was afterwards disapproved, a handsome level land. At noon, ten of us went ashore, and by nine o'clock in the evening, came into the river of Korro, which some call *Cawrora-Nauwe*. At its mouth it is deep, for at low water it has two fathoms and a half to three fathoms, with a fine clayey bottom. About twelve o'clock at night, reached a short mile up the river. It was wide within, and from one and a half to two fathoms deep; and here and there were some rocks. At three o'clock in the morning, six of us went ashore in order to find inhabitants. We first passed a large wood, and after that came on a level field, which was under good cultivation, and where the grass came up to the waist. About nine o'clock, came to an Indian village, where they received us with all friendship. We informed them that we were Hollanders, and they caused us immediately to sit down, and gave us to eat and drink. Their chief then came to us, and led us into his house, where he treated us well with their liquor, which they make of *Casari;* it is thick like hogs-draf, but is whitish, and stronger to drink than Harlem beer. About two o'clock, we set out to return to our boat, and the chief, with two of his sons, went with us. Their village consisted of six or seven houses, and might contain about fifty souls. It stood in a beautiful grove, and was about two miles and a half from our boat. About one mile from this village is another smaller one, which yields cotton and orlian, but not very much, because they do not plant them; speckled wood also grows here. Arrived at our boat at evening, and left again with the ebb. Remained at night before the mouth of the river. At daybreak, went to the ship, and about noon got aboard. Having a sea-wind, we weighed anchor and

left, but towards evening cast anchor again in seven fathoms of water, clayey ground. At night, took our boats to Cayana, in order to ascertain the situation of the country, and get water.

The 8th, we were lying becalmed.

The 9th, in the morning, had a land-wind, so that we made sail, but it became calm again, and we again cast anchor. At noon, started again, and at night anchored in seven fathoms, having run a fine piece.

The 10th, made sail, the wind off land. About nine o'clock, our boat came with water, bringing an Englishman on board, who would take us to Cayana. At noon, cast anchor in eleven fathoms, but about three o'clock were under sail again with a stiff breeze. At night, came to anchor a half mile from Cayana and the cliff. The Lost Child * was about a half a mile from us, lying in five fathoms, and at night in two fathoms and a half, so that the tide falls two fathoms and a half along the coast of Cayana, and an east and west moon makes a full tide or high water.

The 11th, weighed anchor; the wind along the shore; tacked, but gained nothing, so we ran out a piece to sea again, and let our anchor fall in seven-fathom water, hard bottom, a short mile from the Lost Child, which was south-southeast from us. The wind south-east, with a stiff breeze.

The 12th, the wind and weather the same as before.

The 13th, got a land breeze, so that we ran out to sea a piece, and at noon come to anchor in seven fathoms. About three o'clock, weighed anchor, with a sea breeze, and sailed south by east, and south-southeast, in seven, six, and five fathom water, along by the Lost Child, and in the evening, anchored under the west shore of the Island of *Mecoria*, where the river of Cayana empties into the sea. This island lies between the river Cayana, and the river *Mia*. It was half a mile from Cayana where we were lying at anchor, with four fathoms at low water. As you sail in, there is five, four, and three and a half fathoms of water, between the Lost Child and Cayana.—We were no sooner at anchor, than there came a canoe to us with Indians on board, having bananas, and many other refreshments; among them, the pineapple, which is a delightful fruit for eating.

*A rock

The 14th, landed thirty men to make a beginning of a new colony, to raise the dye orlian, called by the Indians *Anoty*,* and cotton and tobacco, all of which grow here well. Took the men to a hillock, adjoining where the ship was lying, where were the ruins of an old fort, and having still two angles of stone entire, made as well as they could be, to prevent the entrance of foreign ships. Found this fort wild and waste, where good sugar-cane grew wild, of which we eat. It was almost as thick as one's arm, so it was natural that we desired to plant sugar there. This ruined fort appeared to have been built in former times by the French, and lies upon a handsome hill, of tolerable size, by which there is a fine valley for raising fruit, cotton, beans, and tobacco. Two miles from this place, we found seven or eight Zealanders and Englishmen, on account of Jan de Moer, of Zealand, who cultivated tobacco, and had been here eight months. This is an island full of people, all Caribs, as I have mentioned before. They are a warlike people, continually at war with a nation called Arricoens. The chief of Cayana was named Arrawicary, who dwelt two miles from us upon the island, which is sixteen miles round. This chief died while we were here. He was faithful and true to Christians, except the Spaniards, whom he would not hear named. They informed us, afterwards, that he was full a hundred and fifty years old. It is to be remarked of this people, that when one of their chiefs die, they immediately kill all his slaves, saying that they shall serve him in the other world. Among the rest, they also kill his physician, because he had not preserved his life longer; he might be to him a better physician in the other world, as they told me. These priests they call *Peoayos;* we call them sorcerers. Whilst we were here, I observed the nature of the climate, and the condition of the people.

The seasons of the year on this coast are diverse; for in the eastern part of Guiana, towards the South Sea, the dry season, which we call summer, begins in August, and the violent winds and rain, which we consider their winter, begin in February; but in the western parts, towards the Oronoco, the dry season commences in October, and the rainy season and winter in April. There is little variation of heat and cold, this country lying so under the Equinoc-

* The *Arnatto.*

tial, and the days and nights being, for the most part, of equal length, like as I observed at Batavia, in the East Indies; but these seasons sometimes vary much, and it rains also one year more than another. The people have division, or reckoning of time and numbers. They reckon only by the moon; as, one, two, three, &c., moons as we count the days, up to ten, and then, one and ten, &c. In order to better express their meaning, they put up their fingers, and when they wish to say twenty they bring their fingers to their feet. When they promise to do anything by a certain time, they deliver a bundle of sticks, and keep one of a like number. In order to keep the appointed time, they take a stick out every day, until they have taken all away, when they know that the time which they had fixed has come, and will then keep their promise.

Of the Genius and Condition of the Natives of this Country; how they are clothed, and what Pride they have.

The Indians, who dwell upon this whole coast, run almost naked. Their hair is black, but sometimes painted red; eyes black; holes in the tips of the ears, and generally holes in the nose and lips; and the whole body painted with the paint which the Caribs call *coniseuwe*, and the Jaos, *anoty*. It seems that they prick it, and burn it in with the sun, in youth. Some of the women paint their daughters differently—particularly with certain strange figures—with a black gum. Some of the men wear a cotton covering in front, but very few, and those more from a love of being odd, because they see us covered, than from modesty. The unmarried men generally have a small string tied round their præputium, and that is fastened to a string which is tied round the neck. The women bear children very easy, and are naturally strong. They carry their children, for the most part upon their hips, sitting, and also in a cotton-band, when they have far to go. They are of middling size, tolerably handsome, and painted like the men. They go naked, and they bind their hair in a bunch.

These people have no religion, as far as I could learn, except that they pay some respect to the sun and moon, like the heathens upon the coast of Coromandel, believing that

they are endowed with life; and they worship them, as those of the coast of Coromandel do,—who, in the morning, when the sun rises, go and stand in the water, with hands uplifted to the sun,—these people, at that time, prostrating themselves. They make no offerings, except they observe certain superstitions, in their drunken festivals. They hold a solemn feast upon the death of their cassique chiefs, or other great friends, making the best provision of their strongest liquor, which they call *Perrouw*, for three or four days, or as long as their liquor lasts; and spending the time in dancing, singing, and drinking,—in which they exceed all other heathen nations that I have ever seen,—esteeming him the bravest fellow who first gets drunk. While they are drinking, the wives of the next friends of the deceased stand crying and howling. Whether they observe any superstition in this, I do not know, but this is certain, that their priests and soothsayers, whom they call *peayos*, as previously mentioned, have at times communication with the Devil, whom they name *Wattipa*, and are by him deceived. Yet, they hate and fear him very much, and say that he is wicked, and not without great reason, for they are frequently beaten by him black and blue. I have since learned that they worship *Tamouco;* who, according to their sayings, lives above and reigns over all. The *Jaos*, especially, worship this Tamouco, every morning and evening. They believe that the good Indians, after death, go upwards, pointing to Heaven, which they name *Coupo;* and that the bad go down, pointing to the earth, which they call *Soy*.

When one of their cassiques, or chiefs, die, if he have any slaves, or other prisoners, they kill them,—but not any of his other servants,—in order that he may be served in the other world.

The quality of the land is various in this region. On the sea-coast, the land is low, and the heat would be very vehement there, were it not moderated by the fresh and cool breezes, or easterly winds; which, at the hottest time of the day, blow very strong. In many places, this low land is very unhealthy, and little inhabited, on account of the overflowing of the water; but it has, for the most part, very fine rivers, fertile soil, and many inhabitants, and is healthy for habitation. Upon the mountains, the climate is cold, and the land, in some places, fertile, and in others not; but it is generally full of minerals, and mines of differ-

ent metals, yielding as much as any places in the East or West Indies, both of the better and inferior kinds, and in most of the mountains. Upon the mountains, are found very healthy dwelling places. There is, also, a middle kind of land, which is of a medium height, very temperate, healthy, and fertile, and almost all peopled. It is full of lakes and pleasant streams of water, fine groves, and pleasant plains, for profit, pleasure, and recreation, and not unprovided with minerals.

They are very much troubled here with mosquitoes, which they call *mapiry*, whose sting is very venomous. The building of many fires is a good remedy. They have there, also, fleas, which they call *Sico*.

We will now speak of the productions of the country, and other things which serve to sustain the life of man.

The provision of this land, for supporting life, is manifold. First the root of cassava, of which they make bread, in the following manner: they break the root upon a stone, and express the juice, which, in its raw state, is poisonous, for I threw a bit of it to a hen, which died therefrom immediately; but, boiled with Cayenne pepper,—of which they have a great abundance,—it affords an excellent and wholesome sauce. Then they dry the bruised root, and bake it upon a stone in the same manner as oatcakes are baked. This bread is then fit to be used; they bake it as thick as one's finger. There is a species of large wheat, called maize, or Turkey wheat, like that of Virginia, which grain is a peculiar provision for this country, and is very productive, yielding a thousand or fifteen hundred for one, and frequently more. It makes very good flour for bread, and good malt for beer or ale, and serves various necessary purposes for the support of man. Of the before-mentioned cassava bread, and of this Indian corn, they make a liquor, which they call *passiauw*, which must be used in four or five days. They make also another beverage of cassava, which they call *pernouw*, or *perranon*; which they prepare in large pots, and boil it, as they do beer in Holland. It foams, and is as good and strong as the beer of Breme, but it is somewhat hot; it has, also, as high a colour as Breme beer, and can be kept good ten days. There are several kinds, some strong, others weak, some thick, others thin, but it was all good, and well

prepared, when we were among the Caribs and Arwackes, who are the neatest of all those nations.

There is a great abundance of honey, and although it is found wild in trees and holes in the earth, it is as good as any in the world. Good mead can be made of it. There are no vines, but as the land is fertile and rich, and the climate warm, they would grow there, if they were planted, and furnish fine wines; which, for this region, would be very wholesome; though I would be afraid of their becoming sour from the heat.

Of the Wild Beasts and Cattle.

Many other necessaries for the support of man are to be found here, wild, of all kinds. Swine, in great numbers, of two species; one, small, called by the Indians, *pockiero*, which has the navel on the back; the other, named *panigo*, as large and fine as any swine, and weighing from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty pounds. There are also multitudes of hares and rabbits, but different from ours; they are like young deer, twenty-four hours old. There are leopards, tigers,—one of which, an Indian, while I was here, took and played with, while lying in his hammock,—armadillos, *maipuries*,*—whose meat tastes like beef,—*baremoes*, which tastes like mutton,—and other small animals of various flavour and colour; as apes, innumerable monkeys of different kinds, good to eat—though I was not willing to taste them—besides many strange animals; as the Caribs, who had been with one of our men up the river of *Caparwaca*, and in other places, told us. There are deer, which the Indians call *osary;* wild hogs, white, which they call *abihera;* lions, *waricory*,—having red hair, the fore legs like the hind ones, three toes on each foot, head like an ape, and a short tail; it is sluggish, and a small eater, wonderfully slow in moving and climbing. There is also an animal, to which we gave the name *sagewyntjes*, of the size of a rat three weeks old, with copperish marks above the eyes, and four small feet, like those of a water-dog; it is very tender, and cannot be kept alive in confinement. Baboons, also, are very numerous.

* The Tapir.

Of the Birds of the Country.

Here are wild ducks, teal, geese, herons of various colours, cranes, storks, pheasants, partridges, pigeons, thrushes, blackbirds, snipe, parrots of different kinds, and many other species of birds of which I have no knowledge, both large and small, of exquisite colour, besides large birds of prey, and hawks of all sorts, and beautiful ravens.

Of the Kinds of Fish which are caught.

There are many kinds of fish; first, of sea-fish, beam, chub, sole, perch, roach, blackfish, sturgeon, like salmon, as it is red, like that at Batavia, in the East Indies. It is of the same species, and is on the shell like the salmon, except the colour. There are shrimps, lobsters, and oysters, which grow on the branches of trees, which appears very wonderful; also, a rare fish called *Cassoorwa*, which has two organs of sight in each eye; one of which in swimming, it holds above, and the other, under water; its back and ribs are like the back and ribs of men, the one being round and the other flat, and it has a backbone; it is somewhat larger than a smelt, which it very much resembles in swimming; it keeps always along the shore, in large schools. There are many other very good fish; the *accare*, which are not unlike the crocodile, but thinner and longer, and shorter heads; they come upon the land, but feed upon fish; they are good to eat, but difficult to catch, having an acute smell, by which they become aware of danger. The *owanna*, very similar to, but smaller than the *ayamare*,—a large species of shad, which keeps in deep water, and is very choice eating.

Moreover, of fresh fish, there are many, but for the most part, they are unknown to us, though they are all very good and delicate; so that it may be conscientiously said, that this country, according to its climate, may be compared, for variety and excellence of the fish, with any other country in the world. There is also a sea-fish which generally comes into fresh water, especially during the winter and rainy season, called by the Indians, *cojumero*, and by the Spaniards, *manatee*, and by us, the *sea-cow*. It is an even chance, if a person, who had never seen one before, should catch one, he would not know but that he had a young bull or heifer, for it has ribs, and is lined with fat, and the hide is like a cow's hide, is suit-

able to make buff leather, and, dried in the sun, and dressed with oil, is good for shields against the arrows of the Indians. There is a fish here, called *cakop* in the East Indies, very fine for eating, as large as a cod, with scales the size of a copper; and also another, called in the East Indies, *sanbilam*, which keeps in the fresh water. The *coa*, which are crabs, are to be found in great numbers in the low swampy grounds, and all along the coast.

The fruits are of various kinds: pineapples, plantains, potatoes, medlars, plums of different sorts, nuts of curious shape. The pineapple, or ananas, is as excellent and as large as that of the East Indies; no better fruit can be found; the flavour is like that of a strawberry and a ripe pippin; the potato is well known; the medlars are very large; the plums are not to be praised, because, when plentifully eaten, they cause a diarrhœa,—which in this country, is very dangerous according to my observation; and so of the common greens of the country, *napi*, which are not unlike the eastern *reuven*. There is a tree, which grows here, as large as a pomegranate tree, with pale-green downy leaves, and white flowers, but of more leaves, and of no scent; from the blossom, first comes only a large bean, like the kidney of a rabbit, from which grows a fruit in the shape of a pear, and the bean remains hanging below it; there is a pit in it, which tastes like a hazel-nut, and under the skin is an oil, which is good for inflammation in the face.

Of the Commodities of the Country.

The most important production of this country is the sugar-cane, of which there are immense quantities. The land is as well adapted to it as any in the world. It grows very large in a little time; and by cultivating, and the erection of proper buildings for extracting the sugar, which would cost a good deal at first, great wealth would be realized, as we can see has been done by the Portuguese, in Brazil and elsewhere.

Cotton is a general article of merchandize, and is very useful for merchants and for us, to make fustians and bombazines and other goods, and also to make hammocks—which are the beds of the Indians, and very necessary in this region—and calicoes. There is, besides, a kind of hemp or flax, of

great value, almost as fine as silk, and can be used like it; it makes very excellent linen.

They have here peculiar dyes, one of which is called *Aunoto*, which grows on trees as large as cherry-trees. These trees bear large nuts, which burst open when they are ripe, and within the kernels of which are small berries of a red colour. These, well prepared by the Indians—which they do with palm-oil—produce a perfect dye of a fast orange colour; but the Indians cheat much by mixing cassava with it. There is another berry, which dyes a blue colour; and a certain gum of a tree, which makes a perfectly fast yellow colour in cloths; and leaves of trees, which, properly prepared, give a deep red colour. There is also a wood which dyes purple, and is of great value; and another, which yields a yellow dye; besides many others, undoubtedly, which are as yet unknown; but which, by careful search, will some time or other be discovered.

Many aromatic gums are found here; but as I have no experience in the science, I know not what virtues they possess. Cassia fistula and senna-leaves grow here, and the earth yields Armenian bole.

There is a tree, with which they catch their fish, worthy of special consideration. It grows generally near their dwellings; and when they wish to go a-fishing, they carry some branches of it to the creeks,—which at high water are for the most part full of good fish. They take the sticks and beat them upon the stones until they become as soft as flax; and running up the creek, which they had previously stopped up at high water with the branches of other trees, they throw this wood, which they had by beating made like flax, into the water when it is half run out. When the fish come swimming to the surface of the water, they become intoxicated; and, finding the creek stopped up at its mouth, they leap upon the land. Some come floating belly upwards, and are scooped up out of the water; or, if they still swim, they are shot with arrows through the body, so that any one can catch as many as he wishes.*

While I was walking by the seaside, I saw a whale fighting with a swordfish, and the water was as red as blood; as often as the whale jumped out of the water, and in terror

* Bancroft describes this mode of intoxicating the fish by the natives of Guiana, by throwing into the water the bruised root of Hiarra. (pp. 322–3.)

of the swordfish, he spouted the water frightfully. The swordfish stuck him as he came down under the belly, which made him spring out of the water again. It was wonderful to see.

There is a tree of red-speckled wood, called by the inhabitants *piratimnere*, and in the Netherlands, *letterwood*. It is excellent for all kinds of cabinet-work. The tree grows up straight, and has a smooth white bark; the letterwood is the heart of the tree, in which it grows; there are no leaves on the tree, except at the top. Good tobacco can be grown here; and there are rich mines, but they have not been well explored.

We will now resume our Voyage.

After I had lain here four weeks, and put my colonists whom I had settled here in order, they set about planting thirty thousand dye-trees, a hundred thousand cotton-trees, and a hundred thousand tobacco-plants, each of which yields a half-a-pound of tobacco, which commands a good price.

The 14th of October, about nine in the morning, we weighed anchor for Cayana, and took with us the grandson of Arrawycary, the principal chief, who was deceased, as before related. This youth was desirous of visiting the Netherlands, and I was the more willing to take him, because it would make my colonists more contented. Set our course northerly towards the Lost Child, in three and a half, four, four and a half, five, six, seven and eight fathoms of water, and at evening came to, a little below the Devil's Islands, in ten fathoms, the wind from the east.

The 15th of the same month, we weighed anchor, and sailed along the coast in nine, eight, seven and six fathoms, clay bottom. The coast trends almost north-west by west; the land is low, and here and there a mountain. At noon, lay to below the river called *Senamaria*, in three fathoms at low water, a mile from land. The coast is flat, so that the river is difficult to be found, except by two rocks which lie a little below the river, and another white rock, which lies half-a-mile further in the sea. You can see there is a small opening into the river, very narrow, and having only two feet of water at low tide, but at high tide about nine. It lies between the rivers *Suraco* and *Sinenari*. The coast stretches west-northwest, and north-west. I went three

miles up this small river, as there was living there a French captain called Captain Schanbou, who had dwelt there three years, and had twelve Frenchmen with him. He had a ship loading there with aggie, or long pepper, and he expected daily the arrival of another for the same purpose. He compelled me to stay all night with him, which I did, going to him with the yacht. We caught a hog which had its navel on the back, and his gunner shot thirty-three teal at one shot, at which I was astonished. In the morning, took my leave of the captain, thanking him for his hospitality. I observed that these Indians are not as thievish as in other countries, for we had let our boat lie at night without a guard, and found that they had been by it, and had moved the goods about, but that they had not taken anything. The French captain said that he had oftentimes gone inland with all his people, but had never missed anything.

The 17th, we got under sail, the wind along the shore, and set our course north-west, and north-west by west, and west-northwest, and anchored at evening about three miles from land, which is very flat. It is three, four, and four and a half fathoms deep about three miles from land.

The 18th, we were under sail again, and laid our course west-northwest, the wind along the shore, and at noon came to anchor between the rivers *Amana* and *Marriwyn* in thirteen feet at high water, soft clay bottom, so that we had not at low tide more than five feet, and were then fast, though it was difficult to lie here, as we could not hold the ship fast because the current changed each time with the tide. So we had a great deal of trouble with our anchors, and had every afternoon a stiff breeze from the sea. I went at noon, with eight men, to the river Amana, to see if there was any trade.

In the morning of the 19th, went two miles up the river, where we found some houses of the Arrewackes, but no men. We fired off a musket, when two Indians immediately came to us, and conducted us to their houses. They were Arwackes, and gave us to eat and drink. A distance further inland, dwell some Arwackes, but at this time there was not much to trade, because it was too early. The dye-plants were still standing in the fields, and the letterwood and redwood could not be procured, because they must be got in the rainy season, which begins in November. Those

who want to trade here, must manage to be on the coast in January, for at that time the traffic is best. About ten o'clock, we went up the river with the tide, leaving our sloop with a Frenchman, and at evening reached a village where the Caribs lived, who received us in friendship, and where there were ten or twelve houses. It is about eight miles up the river. We remained here at night, very much tormented by the mosquitoes, and in the morning went with the son of the Cassique about three miles into the country, where we found another Carib village of seven or eight houses. They entertained us well with their liquor, and we then went a mile further, to another large village of Caribs, consisting of eighteen or twenty houses. We found here mostly women, as the men had gone after fish and crabs, which are their chief food. We found nothing here to trade for, it being too early, as before stated. At evening, returned to our sloop, and spent the evening in a frolic with the Indians, for it was a festival-time with them. In the morning, went with the ebb-tide down the river, and on the evening of the 20th reached the ship. This river, at high-water, is ten feet deep at the mouth, and is deep within, and is therefore a fine river to navigate with a yacht. The land is all low, and has nothing else but trees, and is without hills; it is extremely flat, the trees standing and growing in the water, with their branches hanging in water, covered with oysters, of which I ate.

On the 21st October, went with our sloop to the river of Mariwyne, and saw at once how deep it was. Found, for the most part, eleven to twelve feet at highwater, till we came at the mouth of the river. We found in the middle of the river a sand-bank, entirely dry at low-water. There was an opening on the east side, very narrow, and about ten feet deep; and also one on the west side, but how deep it was I do not know. The river stretches to the south-west, and about two miles up are some islands. It is hardly a mile wide. Such is its situation, as far as I have been able to discover. About a mile up lies a village where Arwackes live, but they had all gone to Sernama, except one woman, who watched the houses. Many different nations live here; to wit, Caribs, Jaios, Arwackes, Percoren, and many others besides. They promised to furnish us, in another year, a full shipload of letterwood. Whilst we were ashore here, a Netherlander came to us, who had left the ship in which he

had come, on account of the Indian-pox, and as he was now better, he requested that he might go to Holland with me, and came aboard our ship. Any one who has this disease must be cured here; even though he may have it in Holland, he must return here to be cured; for it is like the Amboyn-pox in the East Indies. Young children of a month old can here be afflicted with it. There came with him to us two Frenchmen, who had run away from Captain Schanbou; they resided at Cunama, and all three lived in an Indian village.

The 23d, weighed anchor and got under sail, the wind from the shore, and the course north-west, and afterwards west. The land trends to the west, and is all low. The water three to four fathoms deep, fine bottom. In the evening let anchor fall in five fathoms, about two miles and a half from land.

At break of day, in the morning of the 24th, weighed anchor,—wind east, course west, and west by south,—five, and four fathoms, firm bottom,—and about noon, came before the river of *Sorname*, and ran in south-east by south. It was first three fathoms and a half deep, then four, and four and a half, firm ground, and in some places hard. We cast anchor in four fathoms and a half, and lay behind the sandy-point, close into the shore. We could see both rivers; to wit, the river of Sername, the more westerly, and *Comawini*, the more easterly. To sail into the Comawin, you must keep to the larboard-side, for it is deep there, and then the river runs as far as you wish. There had been here, five or six days before, a ship from Flushing, whose master was named Packemack. He had lain here in Comawin full four months, and obtained from fifteen to sixteen lasts of letterwood. Towards evening, went with our sloop to the river of Sername, and in the morning of the following day, came to one or two houses which were made with palisades round them like a fort. An Englishman, named Captain Marshall, lived there with sixty English, and wanted to plant a colony. It was about sixteen miles up the river. We remained a day and a night with the captain. The land along the shore is very low. In ascending it, when the tide fell, we went into the bushes on the shore with our sloop,—for the trees stand there three feet in the water,—and we made our hammocks fast to the trees, and then got in them to sleep until the tide began to run up again. We

had to draw our hammocks over our heads, as the mosquitoes were very numerous.

The 26th, took our leave of Captain Marshall, and went down the river again. It is a fine deep river, and can be navigated by a large ship. In descending it, we found, about six miles from our ship, an English house, where there were fourteen or fifteen Englishmen, who planted tobacco. Got aboard by evening.

The 27th, sailed from Sername, and ran north-west by north, along the point east of the sandy-point, and came to another point; then have the two in range, or the last a little further out, and take care that you go, if you can, west-northwest, for you are then free from the bank that runs out from the west point. Ran west-northwest, and then west by west, in from four to five fathoms, firm bottom. Cast anchor at night, about two miles and a half from land, in five fathoms.

The 28th, set sail, the wind from the shore. Came to anchor at noon before Sername, well known by the point which you see by the land. You must keep off somewhat from the east point, because there is a reef running before it, and there is not more than ten to eleven and twelve feet water, so that our ship would have been held fast unless we had made our way far enough off, and set our course that Serniame lay about east-southeast, two miles and a half from us. Could there see it all open, lying south-east by south, about three miles. Laid here in four fathoms at high-water. It is very flat, and whoever wishes to sail into Sername, must run close to the starboard-shore, where it is thirteen feet deep at high water. We found here Packemack, of Flushing, with his ship.

The 30th, weighed anchor, and took aboard full a hundred and fifty Indians, men and women, who prayed us to take them to Timenare. They were of a nation called *Sapaye*, and were apprehensive that the Caribs would kill them. We went west-northwest, in five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten fathoms water, muddy bottom, and sailed about four miles from the shore, and anchored in the evening.

The 31st, got under sail in the morning, and set our course west-northwest. It began to be calm at noon. The water was twelve to fourteen fathoms, and we anchored in the evening in eight fathoms at high-tide. The bottom was

hard, the shoals were gravelly, and were distant about three miles from the shore.

The 1st of November, weighed anchor, the wind being along shore; course west, with a fine breeze. At noon, sailed past Berbysie. The water four, five, and six fathoms deep, muddy bottom. Anchored at night in five fathoms.

The 2d, we weighed anchor. Course the same as before, and by noon came into the river of Timmerarie. The channel stretches south-west by south, and is two fathoms and a half and three fathoms deep in the shallowest part at flood-tide. It runs about three-quarters of a mile from the east shore, where it is the deepest. Here we disembarked the Indian men and women,—who immediately prepared their habitations with pieces of wood,—as they were near their friends. Whilst we were lying here, Jan Vander Goes came with a canoe from the river of *Isekebie*, where he was commander for the West India Company.

The 7th, set sail from Timmerare; the wind east-north-east, the course north, with a fine breeze.

The 8th, it was again unsettled, with rain and wind, so that we took in our topsails.

The 11th, in the morning, saw the island of Barbadoes lying about four miles east of us. It was cloudy; the wind east. Laid our course west, and west by south, and set our topsails. At evening, saw the island of *Bequia*, and some islands of the *Granades*; but we were a little too far south, and so that we ran by the wind. Sailed north by east, with a strong wind.

The 12th, in the morning, were on the east side of St. Vincent, lying about west from us. On the north side, it has high steep mountains, and further towards the south side, it is also high, and the *land doubles*. We ran to the north point of the island to anchor. In the first bay, which lies close by, is a rock like a haystack, a short distance from the land,—you must run as close to the west side of it as you can,—we ran close under the shore and came to in twenty-three fathoms. A multitude of canoes came to us here with refreshments.

The 13th, at nine o'clock in the morning, our cooper died, after having lain sick seven weeks.

The 14th, weighed anchor and made sail; the wind easterly; but after we were a little distance from the land

it became calm. At night, had occasionally a slight breeze. Our course north by east.

The 15th, in the morning, St. Lucia lay across us. It is low on the south side. A little distance from the point are two mountains like sugar-loaves, and then, further along, are high mountains. Had the wind east-northeast, the course north-east. At evening, tacked about, because the wind was so sharp, and ran south-east and south-east by east. The wind was at times a little stronger, and then a little weaker, after that it became violent.

The 16th, the wind variable, so that we lost more than we gained, and at evening were again under the south point of St. Vincent.

To the 24th, of this month, we had much variable weather and wind; but, by our reckoning, we saw the Island of Trinidad before us.

The 25th, we had fine weather, and ran at noon in sight of high land, in the middle of which was a low valley, and off the east point of which were two small islands. The wind east-northeast, and our course north, and at night sailed off and on.

The 26th, in the morning, got out our boat, which I sent ashore with seven men, to see whether there were any Indians, and if there were a good harbour there. My boat returned late in the evening, and reported that there was no anchorage, and nothing on the land but high steep cliffs, and that they found no signs of men. We had here variable weather continually.

The 1st of December, the weather became fine; wind east-southeast, course north-east by north, in latitude fifteen degrees and eighteen minutes. At evening saw the Island of Dominica lying about east of us. Ran over four glasses* into the first watch, because the wind was so sharp, but the wind dying away, we turned to the north by east, and north-northeast.

At break of day on the 3d, saw the Island of *Aves* and St. Christophers, and on the third day came to anchor under Nevis, where a small English ship was lying at anchor, bound for Ireland.

The 6th, a Hoorn's man came in from St. Christophers, to wait for a packet which was at St. Christophers, and sailed with her for Guadaloupe.

* Two hours.

On the 13th, five Holland ships arrived from Pernambuco, and anchored by us, bound for Cape *de Velle* for salt, and for Curaçoa for wood.

The 25th, we weighed anchor and sailed for St. Christophers, and came to under the French fort in the afternoon. I went ashore there, and found a Frenchman, named Monsieur de Nanbuck, in command. I traded for some tobacco, and was well treated by him.

Anno 1635. The 1st of January, weighed anchor, and put for a harbour before the Fort of the English, where a person named Captain Warnas commanded, and we took in a parcel of tobacco.

The 15th, we ran to the sand-point, where I found four French ships at anchor, two of which came from Cape de Verde, the other two were taking in tobacco here.

The 17th, Schellinger, of Mendenblick, arrived here with a prize which he had taken at Margarita, having lost his sail-maker, who was shot in boarding.

The 4th of February, learned that the Spanish fleet had arrived at Guadaloupe, and wanted the ships to run to the leeward, and I said that I would not lose my passage on account of the Spanish ships, and must see whether I could pass by them at night.

The 10th, we weighed anchor and got under way, and at evening came about Redonde, and stood towards Montserat, but as the dusk of the evening began to come on, two ships followed after us, which it appeared had kept through the day behind the Island of Redonde, in order to observe the ships which might pass there, lying there in wait, it seemed, for the Spanish fleet. One of them sailed towards us, and began to shoot at a distance, and exchanged signals constantly with the other. We cleared for action, and I let the rigging hang. He sailed close behind us, and asked whence our ship. He was evidently an Easterling, who hailed us. He told us to wait for his admiral. I said if they wished anything, they should come by day, and at the same time told him to keep behind us or I would shoot into him, which he scarcely desired. He called to us again to strike, and wait for his admiral, and laid his bowsprit across us. We said we would shoot. He then immediately held off, when we heard a great noise of people, all speaking Spanish. He hauled short off from us when he saw that we mistrusted him, and we left him well assured that these ships were those

who were lying in wait for the Spanish fleet, and in the morning saw no more of them.

The 11th, at evening, came in sight of Martinique.

The 12th, in the morning, had *Bequia* east of us. Ran along the coast of the Island of Granades,and fell in with a canoe of Caribs (who live on this island) with provisions; but they are a thievish set, and one must be on his guard with them. Anchored at evening on the south end of a fine sandy bay, where there was a salt pond. We went ashore with the boat, but found no salt there.

The 14th, weighed anchor early in the morning, with a brave east wind, and laid our course south by west, and by evening carried little sail.

The 15th, in the morning, discovered a number of small islands in a round group. They were the Tortugas. We kept near them, and sailed through them, and found the most westerly islet an excellent sandy bay, where we anchored in eighteen fathoms, and sent our boat ashore. There was nothing here but bare naked cliffs and rocks, where there were many hares and coneys, such as we have in the sand-hills in Holland, and shot about thirty-one hares, which were not unlike the coneys in taste.

The 16th, weighed anchor, and at night saw the Tortuga, whence they take salt, but did not venture to stop there for salt, because we were alone. Carried a little sail at night.

The 17th, saw the island of Orchilla in the morning, and coming to it, sent my boat to wood, which came back immediately, bringing nothing, as it was wild, and we did not wish to lose any time. Sailed, at noon, by the Island of Rocca, and at evening came to the Island of Aves, and made little sail, so as not to pass by Bonnapere.

The 18th, reached Bonnapere in the morning, but saw no salt in the pond. Ran under little Bonnapere, and laid our course for Curaçoa, and coming before Curaçoa, had so much wind that we hauled in both the mainsails. Presently, there came out two ships, one of which was the Otter, commanded by Houtebeen, and the other was the Cat, and were bound for the mainland for a prize, and they told me that I could not reach Curaçoa, as the wind and current ran too strong to the west. We resolved, as it blew hard, to lay our course north by west, with reefed sails.

The 20th, at evening, saw the Island of Spaniola Copo

Colongia, and stood along the shore, with little sail. The wind and our course west-northwest.

The 21st, found ourselves in the morning close by the Island of Vache. Observed that the eastern shore of the island was full of rocks and rushes, and about noon passed this island, and ran to Cape Tiburon. About three hours after noon, we met a small yacht of the West India Company's fleet, which hailed us, and inquired where we wanted to go. Answered him to the Tortugas, behind Spaniola. He told us we must sail cautiously, as on the 9th of January, he had run away from the Spaniards, who had killed between five and six hundred Englishmen.

The 22d, Cape Tiburon was east of us, and a Zealand privateer, named Maertman, whose commander was named Pieter Jansz, who came aboard of us, and inquired where we wished to go. Answered him, to the Tortugas. He told us that we should be careful, as he had come from thence, and had careened his ship there. Whilst he was doing that, the Spaniards came and ravaged the island, where they killed and made prisoners many English. He was lying under the English fort, upon which nine pieces of ordnance were mounted, which the Spaniards immediately spiked, as it was night. Maertman, whilst his boat was under the fort, had brought two cannon upon the land. When it was day, he hauled his cannon from the shore, and defended his boat with the two pieces which he had in the ship, as he lay close to the shore. When he had his boat again on board, none of the Spaniards dare come to the fort. They then ran over the plantations to drive away the English. At night, there came a sloop with Spaniards, who ignorantly rowed or sailed upon the reef; but Maertman was aware of this (as it was close by his ship), and sent his boat armed to them, and took them aboard. Thus the governor of the English saved himself by the assistance of this privateer, who presented him the captured Spaniards, with whom he did not hold much parley, but immediately killed them; for which Maertman did not have much respect, as he had handed over these prisoners in order that some of them might be ransomed. All this was told us by Pieter Jansz Martman, who gave himself out as commander of Martman's ship. We also learned from him that he had taken a prize with fifteen cannon, and laden full of Cumarie wines, but had sailed the same prize on the weather-shore, to the Island of Jamaica. He di-

rected us to look well before us, as the Spaniards, with their four vessels, were full of people, with whom they had made this attack. They had one ship and three barks, with a small boat. He then took his leave, exchanging a salute with us; we separated from each other, and we wished him a good prize and a prosperous voyage.

The 23d, early in the morning, met at the *Caimites*, on the west end of Spaniola, a fishing-boat, with a wood sloop, which was full of the English refugees, who had fled from the Island of Tortuga. They requested that I would take the people from the wood sloop (who were twenty-five strong) with five-and-twenty from the fishing-boat, which was so full that they could not move. But my crew were afraid to take so many people on board, but I answered them that these were not English seamen, that they were planters, that there was no danger of their running the ship away, that I knew well how to converse with those people, and understood their language, and also that I could not let them perish in the sea, for they were Christians. After a long discourse with my folk, as we were only five-and-twenty men strong, they thought it was very absurd to take on board fifty strangers, not thinking in what misery these people were, who had no food, and who durst not go ashore to hunt for any, because they had no ship to convey them. I at length took the fifty men on board, and sailed that day with them behind the Caimites, an island, where we anchored in ten fathom water, and upon a coral bar. Immediately took some English ashore, with one who could manage the harpoon, and caught a sea-cow, which they brought on board in the evening, with three large turtles. As it was not entirely safe to lie here in foul bottom, and as water could not be got, we resolved to go to the Bay of Goava, in the Island of *Guanabo*, about ten or twelve miles deeper in the Gulf.

The 25th, weighed anchor in the morning, and arrived in the afternoon in the Bay of Goava, where was fine fresh water running down from the mountain to the sea-shore, and where we had only to lie with the boat, and scoop the water in the casks at the bows. We went ashore here, with eighteen or twenty English in our boat, who were well acquainted with it, and who took their dogs to hunt. This is a fine bay, and has about ten feet water, fine bottom. The boat returned in the evening, bringing three wild hogs, which the English had taken with their dogs, and about six thousand

oranges and lemons; so that this is a very fine place for provisions. Besides, we caught some fine fish with the drop-line.

The 26th, went ashore again in our boat, with a party of English, and returned at evening with fifteen or sixteen thousand oranges and lemons, and with seven wild hogs, which they had hunted.

The 27th, saw a Holland boat, with a sloop's sail and foresail, lying on the shore, a cannon's shot from us, and I discovered by my spy-glass that the boat was full of people. Immediately sent my sloop and boat, well manned, and boarded it. There were five-and-twenty Spaniards. The captain of the vessel showed me a letter that he had been captured by Roebergen, having a fine ship laden with hides. They had given him back this boat, and thereupon I let him go again.

The 4th April, after having well provided ourselves in this bay with provisions and water, we resolved to sail in the morning to a salt-pond, which was situated by Cape Saint Nicholas.

The 5th, we weighed anchor, and at noon came to anchorage at a high mountain. There was a plain around it, and a small salt pond by the mountain. This salt pond lies between Guanives and Cape Saint Nicholas. We laid here in fifteen-fathom water, on a sandy bottom. I went ashore to examine the pond, and found that there was salt in it. We immediately prepared to make a scaffold, to take in salt for ballast.

The 6th, finished our scaffold, and began to take the salt from the pan, and after we had collected three or four boat-loads of salt it began to rain, and the salt was immediately dissolved by the fresh water. We hauled the salt on board which we had collected, and if it had not been in the rainy season we might have laden three or four ships with salt. It was convenient to haul, not being more than thirty paces from the sea. We shot here many birds,—flamingoes, and others,—and it was also full of wild horses, which we saw running by hundreds in the morning.

The 10th, weighed anchor at break of day, and set sail, and reached Cape St. Nicholas in the evening, and arrived on the 12th, before the island of Tortugas, which the Spaniards had left, and found there Roebergen, from Zealand, who had with him the prize which he had taken from the

Spaniards, as before related, with two other ships, one of which was from Schiedam, and the other from Middleburgh. We also found here a vessel, in which the governor of the English was bound for Virginia. We trafficked some Brazil wood while we were lying here, and as it blowed a storm daily, so that we could not go out, our English went daily to the island of Spaniola to hunt, to catch hogs, and horned beasts, and we lay here safe, through the bad weather, till the 20th of April. I asked the English whether they did not wish to inhabit the island again; they answered that they were afraid of the Spaniards, if they should undertake to inhabit it; so they could not be persuaded to it. This island is at the north end of Spaniola, and at the distance of a mile. Beautiful rills run down from the fresh streams and plenty of fresh water can be had there. There are also upon the island of Spaniola fine savannah or pasture-lands, where many cattle run wild, and also horses and swine. There are no Spaniards on the north side. There are many oranges and lemons growing wild.

The 3d of May, we weighed anchor on the east end of Tortugas, and got under sail.

The 7th, in the morning, saw the Caicos, the shoal with the small islands, which you have in sight from the Tortugas. On the north side there is a clump of trees, which looks like a fort or wooden wall. We had rain daily, and between the 7th and 8th, we passed by the island of Mayrguana. There come upon me a stiffness at night (as I had been lying asleep in the rain) that confined me to the cabin, such as I had never known.

The 11th, had a hard storm from the north-east, so that we ran with the foresail.

The 16th, came in sight of the mainland, and sounded fourteen fathoms on sandy bottom. Saw the sand-hills of Virginia, and were near Cape *Engano*, in latitude thirty-four and thirty-five degrees.

The 17th, came before the harbour of English Virginia, and as there was no one in the ship, except myself, who had been there, the helmsman and boatswain came in the cabin, and had me carried on deck, in order to sail the ship. We arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon before the fort called Point Comfort, where we found a ship from London, in which was Sir John Harvey, governor on behalf of the King of England. He was sent to England by his council and

the people, who had made a new governor, which turned out bad for them. I landed here all the English whom I had brought with me, and endeavoured to obtain some provisions, in order to sail to New Netherland, to make my ship tight, as it was extremely leaky, which I could not do in the English Virginias. As it was out of season to obtain tobacco, I let all of my cargo lie here, and gave directions to trade when the crop of tobacco should be ripe, and I would return again when the unhealthy season should be over, that is September,—for June, July, and half of August are very unhealthy there for those who have not lived there a year. The English die there at this season very fast, unless one has been there over a year, by which they say he is seasoned; that is, he is accustomed to the land. They attribute the cause of the unhealthiness of this land, which lies in latitude thirty-six to thirty-seven degrees, to the variableness of the climate; one hour it is so hot, at this season, that a man cannot endure the heat, the next hour the wind shifts to the north-west with such freshness, that he has to put on an overcoat, and that causes the great unhealthiness.

The 28th, after I had provided myself again with everything, we weighed anchor, and sailed for New Netherland, where we arrived safe behind the point in the evening of the 30th.

The 1st of June I went ashore at Fort Amsterdam, where I found Wouter Van Twiller, governor, as before. Asked him if he would hire for me some carpenters, in order to repair my ship, which was very leaky; if not, I would sail to New England. He promised me assistance. I then sent my boat back, in order to let my ship come in, which was five miles from there, and a young man, who might pilot her in, who had formerly, when I went to the East Indies, been in my service. When my boat was about half an hour from the ship, there arose a thunder-storm, which they could not weather, and the boat got full of water, and drove for two nights and three days at sea. I wondered very much why my ship delayed so, with a good wind, with which she could sail in in three hours. I sent one of the Company's yachts on board, which, the next day but one, came sailing in with the ship; and there came an Indian from the island* to the fort, bringing news that my boat had

* Long Island.

gone ashore, and that the young man, Flips Jansz, of Hærlem, was in it, and that they had found him lying one fathom or two from the breakers, and had brought him to there wild houses, as he was entirely exhausted, and that the other five men from the ship were lost. The boat the Indians had hauled up on the land.

The 5th, the young man, who had been so wonderfully saved, came to the fort; and he told us, that when he encountered the travado, there were two Frenchmen in the boat, who betook themselves to the sea, when it was full of water, intending to swim aboard (of the ship), but they were never seen again. The first night, as they were all seated in the water in the boat, two more of them betook themselves to the water, intending to swim to the land, but they were not seen again. Flips Janz and my boatswain, who was with him, remained in the boat. The second night, and the third day in the afternoon, the boatswain told Flips Janz, who was to pilot the ship in, that he also would abandon the boat; but Flips Janz answered that he would remain in the boat, and wait the providence of God. In about a quarter of an hour after the boatswain was out of the boat, and had taken his leave of him, he was thrown with the boat on land by the sea and breakers, and he ran five or six paces from the water, and was so weak and hungry that he could not go further, and there the Indian found him. He said, that while they were seated in the boat, and driven about with it full of water, such spirits were about them, as appear when one has eaten and drunk: and, at length, one appeared like a fine lady; so I suppose that these apparitions were only their light-headedness from the hunger and hardships which they suffered. We prepared to clean the ship, in order to get at the leak, and unloaded her, and had her hauled upon the strand,—as the water rises and falls here seven feet, with every daily tide, and at spring-tides, nine to ten feet, according to the force of the wind. We spent here the unhealthy season of the English Virginias,—June, July, and August.

The 1st of September, we were lying ready to go to the English Virginias, to see whether we could obtain our dues from the rescued English, whom I had brought from the Tortugas, and for the goods left there. While I was taking my leave of the governor, the bark of the Company arrived, bringing fourteen or fifteen English with them, who had

taken Fort Nassau from our people. As our people had no one in it, they intended to guard it with the boat, but they found that they must take possession of it again, or else it would be destroyed by the English. This arrival of the Englishmen, delayed me six days longer, as Governor Wouter Van Twiller desired that I should take them to the English Virginias, from whence they expected assistance. They therefore took their leave of Wouter Van Twiller, who was governor, and came, bag and baggage, on board my vessel.

The 8th, we again got under sail with the Englishmen. Their commander was named Mr. Joris Hooms (George Holmes). We sailed with a strong north-west wind, along the weather-shore.

The 10th we arrived at Point Comfort, before the English fort, landed the Englishmen whom we had brought with us at Cicketan, where we found a bark lying with twenty men, bound for the South River to aid them, but our arrival with their people prostrated their design. We sailed up the river eight miles, to Blank Point, and found there thirty-six large ships,—all of them English ships of twenty, to twenty-four guns,—for the purpose of loading with tobacco. Fifteen of the captains were dead, in consequence of their coming too early in the unhealthy season, and not having been before in the country.

The 1st of October, I began to sail up and down the river, according to my license, in order to collect my debts; but found that little tobacco had been made, and that there had been this year great mortality among the people, and large quantities of goods brought into the country by the English; and that there were great frauds among the English, who had not paid each other the tobacco, and that half the ships of their own nation were not laden; so that I consider, in regard to this trade, that those who wish to trade here, must keep a house here, and continue all the year, that he may be prepared, when the tobacco comes from the field, to seize it, if he would obtain his debts. It is thus the English do among themselves; so that there is no trade for us, unless there be an overplus of tobacco, or few English ships.

After I had spent the winter here, I was compelled to return, as did most all the ships, without tobacco, and to

let my debts stand. I determined to go off, and traffic for beaver with the English.

Anno 1636. The 28th April, I came with my ship again to the fort before Cicketan, where I learnt that my colony, which I had established on the wild coast, was broken up by the disorders of some English and seamen who were among them. Those who want to plant a colony, must not let any sailors among them, unless the place be so situated that they carry on the trade with a vessel. The cause of abandoning the place was: there came a Spaniard with slaves to seek for water, when our people induced the Indians to show them the water. In the mean time our people ran off the bark and killed the Spaniards. And then the English, who were under our people, went to them and told them that if they would go to the Islands with the bark, they (the English) must be the captains; for they would be going to their own nation, and would there share the booty, but our people must acknowledge that they were their servants; and thus our fine colony was lost, which, if they had remained there for two months, would have had an hundred and fifty thousand guilders' worth of cotton, orlian, and tobacco. But these scoundrels got their reward for abandoning this colony so well begun. When they reached the Islands, the English, who had the title of captains, sold the prize, and the sailors as servants. The English are a villainous people, and would sell their own fathers for servants in the Islands.

The 6th of May, weighed anchor to sail to New Netherland. The English Virginias are an unfit place for our nation to trade, unless they continue the trade through all the year.

The 7th, we saw the South river north by west of us, about three miles. Sounded upon the bar which runs along the coast in four fathoms, and were surprised at its being so shallow.

The 8th, arrived at evening at Sandy Hook, and stood in immediately, so that at two o'clock at night we anchored under the fort, without their being aware of our arrival. At break of day I fired three guns, which caused the people to spring out of their beds all at once, for they were not accustomed for any one to come upon them by such surprise. I went ashore immediately to speak to the commander, Wouter Van Twiller, as my ship was very leaky. When I came to the said com-

mander, I was welcomed by him, and I requested assistance to repair my ship.

The 6th,* hauled the ship into the Smith's vly,† where we unloaded all our goods and careened the ship.

The 25th, we hauled into the stream again, and found her still leaky, and then resolved that we would let the ship lie, and put the goods aboard the West India Company's ship; but as that was not large, and would not be able to carry our goods, we determined to consult the carpenters whether there was any means of making our own ship answer, and for that purpose they sought after the leak, and found, what we had not supposed, that it was in the keel, which was entirely eaten by the worms. We then resolved to go into the woods, and cut a good oak tree; where we procured a new keel, sixty feet long, and made the ship tight again, and hauled her up the stream.

The 25th of June, I went with the commander and minister to Pavonia, opposite the fort, in the colony of Michael Pauw, where the person who was in command there for Michaeh Pauw, was named Cornelis Van Vorst. He had arrived, with a small English bark, from the Northern English, bringing with him from thence good Bordeaux wines; and as the commander was fond of tasting good wines, he was treated therewith. Whilst we were there, it so happened that there were some words between the commander and minister and Cornelis Van Vorst, in relation to a murder that had been committed there; but they separated afterwards good friends, when Cornelis Van Vorst, wishing to give the commander a parting salute, fired a piece of cannon which stood upon a palisade before his house, when a spark flew upon the house, which was thatched with rushes, and in half an hour it was entirely consumed. We returned to the fort, and I went to the ship and set to work to haul everything aboard again. Whilst we were engaged in shipping our goods, two prizes, taken by the English, arrived. They had first, with a sloop and eighteen men of them, taken, near Carthagena, a fine new and fast sailing frigate of about thirty lasts, laden with tobacco and hides, and then with it took a small bark, having hides aboard. They brought

* This is evidently a misprint for 16th.

† This is a Dutch word still in common use. It is a contraction of the word *valleye*—a valley.

them to New Netherland, and ran into the South river, where they found one of our trading sloops, which brought them to Fort Amsterdam. These fellows were fitted out by my Lord Warwick, in order to begin a settlement at the Island of *Nombre de Dios*; but through want of assistance and provisions, were compelled to abandon it, and had obtained a copy of a commission from one of our privateers, with which they had performed this feat. They sold their prizes here at our fort, and shipped their goods in the West India Company's ship and put ten of the Englishmen in mine. As to which the captain maintained that it was forced upon him, as he wished to have his men with his goods; and wanted to have his goods in my ship, as I would have taken all his men with me also; but the commander Wouter Van Twiller, compelled him to ship all his goods in the Company's ship, and compelled me to carry over ten of the Englishmen, all which trading by force was very unreasonable.

The 8th of August, the gunner of the fort gave a parting feast, and had a tent erected on the top of the fort, where a table and benches were set for many guests. When the banquet was at its highest, the trumpeter began to blow, as to which some words were passed; when the keeper of the store, Hendrick Hudden, and keeper of the freight railed at Corlaer, the trumpeter, who gave each of them *santer quanter*, whereupon they ran home, and brought out a sword, and wished to have revenge upon the trumpeter. They went to the house of the commander and used much foolish language, one calling out, "I am the same man who took the life of Count Floris." But when they had slept upon it, their soldiership was all over, and were more afraid of the trumpeter than when they sought him; and thus the matter passed over.

The 9th, let my ship sail up the river to the Great Fall, which is a mile beyond *Menates* (Manhattan) Island, in order to take in water and wood.

The 13th, I requested Wouter Van *Twilliger* to register Staten Island for me, as I wished to return and plant a colony upon it, which he consented to do. I took my leave of him and went aboard. Weighed anchor, and by evening came to anchor at Sandy Hook, in company with the Company's ship, *The Seven Stars*.

The 15th, weighed anchor, as did also the Company's ship, and set sail for Patria, to which may Almighty God conduct us.

The 25th September, overtook a fleet of English ships, which came from St. Lucia, and were by contrary winds driven to the westward. There was among them a smuggler from Hoorn. I hailed the Englishman, what latitude they had, and how far he calculated Scilly was from them; as I had hailed the Company's ship the evening before, and he told me that he was an hundred and seventy miles from land, the Scilly Islands east-northeast from him; which differed much from me, as I calculated I was eighty miles from them east by north. The Englishman told me that they were ninety leagues east by north of the Scilly Islands, which well agreed with me, as our miles are a little more than their leagues. These mistakes happen very frequently, partly because many pilots do not understand the variation of the compass, and partly because they do not understand the shortening of the way by the rotundity of the earth.

The 1st of October, we hove in sight of the land of Wemborough right before Arundel, in a storm, so that we came into the channel with a pair of mainsails, and saw at evening the light of the Singels, and in the second watch the light of Dover. The helmsman then came to me and inquired whether we should not go north-east. I showed him that we were too close to the shore, and that a north-east course would soon make us *cold feet*, and I told him to go east-northeast on the last watch, and that it would then be day, and that we must drift along till then in a straight course, and when the day broke then go north-east, and north-east by north.

The 2d, at evening, it appeared as if the wind would come out of the north-west; veered a little seaward.

The 3d, laid our course towards the shore, and found we were north of the *Haecken;* then stood over to the Vlie. There came sailing behind us a large ship, which we hailed. The captain said it was the Hen, of Hoorn. We came in the evening of this day with the ship before the Castle in the Vlie.

The 4th, made great effort to reach Hoorn in a boat, and arriving there, learned from my partners that the red-dye wood was worth only a rix dollar and three guilders a hundred, which made us a bad voyage; for our expectation, when we left, was to obtain eighteen or twenty guilders a hundred, as for sixteen or seventeen years it had been worth that; so that instead of having, as we intended, fifteen or

sixteen thousand guilders' worth of wood, we had only fifteen or sixteen hundred, which made it a losing voyage for us; but this, nevertheless, had not been so if our colony in Cayenne had remained, which would have yielded us a hundred thousand guilders a year in commodities, had they not abandoned the place as I have before related. The work was done, and could be repaired again with little trouble, whenever the partners at Amsterdam should wish it; but they abandoned it on account of the loss of this colony which I had begun, and by my experience started; which would have returned to us great profits, in cotton, orange-dye, and sugar,—which they would have raised there,—and tobacco and letter-wood,—which grows upon that coast only,—five good articles of trade, which would have increased more and more. I have seen this done in Barbadoes, which in my day was not above a hundred men strong; making at first a little tobacco, which was not much thought of; but since then, they have commenced planting cotton and making sugar. And there can be seen full a thousand men in the Caribby Islands, and much shipping, both of the English and of our own nation. The French, also, have planted many colonies. But nothing has been done by us in consequence of the bungling of the West India Company, which covets the profits of all the trade before they are grown. This is my view, and he who has understanding and experience can perceive whether it is right or not.

MY THIRD VOYAGE

TO

AMERICA AND NEW NETHERLAND,

IN ORDER TO PLANT A COLONY UPON STATEN ISLAND FOR MYSELF AND FREDERICK DE VRIES, SECRETARY OF THE CITY OF AMSTERDAM, AND A MANAGER OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY: UNDERTAKEN AT HIS REQUEST.

ANNO 1638. The 25th of September I am in a Company's ship, freighted by them, and in which are some persons in my service. On the same day, weighed anchor and set sail in company with some ships bound to the Straits, and two to Spain.

The 28th, near the *Kiscassen*, a Dunkirk frigate came into our fleet, and began to shoot at our ships, but received so prompt an answer, that, thanks to God, he made off from us.

The 9th of October, we saw the Island of Madeira east of us; the wind north-west, and so remained with us to the sixteenth degree of latitude, before we obtained the trade wind from the north-east.

The 28th, we had a west wind with a gust. We were about two hundred miles from the Caribby Islands,—the Island of *Seada* west of us,—and were much surprised to have, in the track of the trade, such a contrary wind, which continued with us five days with much violence.

The 8th November, came in sight of *Ladeada*, the first island which *Francis Columbus* saw when he discovered the West Indies.

The 10th, we arrived at the Island of Nevis, and anchored in a fine sandy bay, and went ashore to the governor, who treated me well, and would have me spend the evening

with him; but imprisoned the master of the ship for refusing the anchorage duty, who was a clownish boor, and was not accustomed to this navigation; so I settled with the governor what was to be paid, and he was set at liberty again.

The 13th, weighed anchor, and went to St. Christophers, where we laid at the sandy point for three days, and then left.

The 16th, having weighed anchor in order to proceed on our voyage to New Netherland, sailed at noon along by *St. Martin* and *Anguilla*, and by evening saw *Sombareren*. When we sailed by Anguilla, the helmsman tried to make me believe it was Sombareren; so well do pilots sometimes remember where they do not daily go, that they do not know whether they see one island or another.

The 18th December, sounded in thirty fathoms in thirty-seventh degree of latitude, and ran into twenty-three fathoms, and tacked again from the shore, as evening approached. Thus they converted a good wind into a bad one. I told the pilot, who was ignorant of this navigation, that he must run into fourteen fathoms, to approach the land, for if we turned at night towards the sea from twenty-three fathoms, we could not during the day get into fourteen fathoms, as in this latitude a strong current set out from the bay of the English Virginias. I could not make him understand what I told him, till finally, in consequence of the time that was lost, he was compelled to give heed to me. Early in the morning of the 24th, we came opposite Barnde-gat, the wind north-east, blowing so hard that we ran out to sea; afterwards it blew a storm straight on the shore from the south-east, so that we sailed the whole night and also all the day of the 25th under one mainsail. It seemed as if we felt the same tempest here, as that in which so many ships and men were lost in the Texel.

The 26th, moderate weather again, the wind south-west. Saw land again from on board, and at noon came in sight of the highlands of Sandy Hook, and at four o'clock reached the point, where the pilots wanted to cast anchor and fire a gun, in order that some one might come off and pilot the ship in. I told him that his cannon were not heavy enough for them to hear the report at the fort, which was five miles distant. Then the skipper said he would return to the West Indies, as he saw the island covered with snow, and wait

there till summer. I answered him, that if we could not get in here, I would take him to the South river. But I could not make him understand that there was any South river, inasmuch as he had old false charts by which he wanted to sail. As there were some passengers, who had dwelt several years in New Netherland, they urged him to ask me to take him in, as I had been there with my own ship at night, as before related. The skipper then came to me, and asked me if I would sail the ship in, as I was well acquainted here. I answered him that I would do so for the sake of the passengers who were on board; and that he, at another time, if he took freight, should employ pilots who were acquainted with the places. So I brought the ship that same evening before Staten Island, which belonged to me, where I intended to settle my people, and at dark let our anchor fall in eight fathoms.

The 27th, in the morning, the weather became very foggy, so that one could hardly see from the stem to the stern of the ship. The skipper then asked me whether we should lie there, as there was nothing in sight. I told him to weigh anchor, and although it was growing darker, I would, with that breeze, bring him before the fort in an hour. The anchor being raised, we quickly sailed to the fort, where there was great rejoicing, inasmuch as they were not expecting any ship at that time of year. Found there a commander, named William Kieft, who was sent to the station from France, and had come in the spring, having wintered in the Bermudas, because they did not dare to venture upon the coast of New Netherland, in consequence of the ignorance of their pilots. Going ashore, I was made welcome by the commander, who invited me to his house.

ANNO 1639. The 5th January, I sent my people to Staten Island to begin to plant a colony there, with assistance to build.

The 4th of June, I started north in a yacht to the Fresh river, where the West India Company have a small fort called the House of Hope, and at night came to anchor in Oyster Bay, which is a large bay which lies on the north side of the Great Island, which is about thirty miles long. This bay put up into the island, and is about two miles wide from the mainland. There are fine oysters here, whence our nation has given it the name of Oyster Bay.

The 6th, had good weather at break of day, and got

under sail, and at evening arrived at the Rodenberghs* (Red Hills) which is a fine haven. Found that the English had begun to build a town on the mainland, where there were already three hundred houses and a fine church built.

The 7th, having weighed anchor, arrived at the Fresh river about two o'clock in the afternoon, where at the mouth of the river the English have made a strong fort. There was a governor, Lion Gardiner, who had a Netherland wife from Worden, and he himself had formerly been an engineer and working-baas in Holland. They cannot sail with large ships into this river, and vessels must not draw more than six feet water to navigate up to our little fort, which lies fifteen miles from the mouth of the river. Besides, there are many bare places or stone reefs, over which the Indians go with canoes. Remained at night at this English fort, where we were well treated by the governor.

The 8th, took our leave and went up the river, and having proceeded about a mile up the river, we met, between two high steep points, some Indians in canoes, who had on English garments, and among them was one who had on a red scarlet mantle. I inquired how he came by the mantle. He had some time ago killed one Captain Stone, with his people, in a bark, from whom he had obtained these clothes. This was the captain of whom I have before spoken in my first voyage to America, who had the misfortune of his boatmen eating each other; and he had now lost his own life by the Indians.

The 9th, arrived with the yacht at the House of Hope, where one Gysbert Van Dyck commanded with fourteen or fifteen soldiers. This redoubt stands upon a plain on the margin of the river, and alongside it runs a creek to a high woodland, out of which comes a valley, which makes this hill, and where the English, in spite of us, have begun to build up a small town, and had built a fine church, and over a hundred houses. The commander gave me orders to make a protest against them, as they were using our own land, which we had bought of the Indians. Some of our soldiers had forbidden them to put the plough into it, but they had disregarded them, and had cudgelled some of the Company's soldiers. Going there, I was invited by the English governor to dine; when sitting at the table, I told him that it

*New Haven.

was wrong to take by force the Company's land, which it had bought and paid for. He answered that the lands were lying idle: that though we had been there many years, we had done scarcely anything; that it was a sin to let such rich land, which produced such fine corn, lie uncultivated; and that they had already built three towns upon this river, in a fine country. There are many salmon up this river. These English live soberly, drink only three times at a meal, and whoever drinks himself drunk, they tie to a post and whip him, as they do thieves in Holland.

The 12th, among the incidents which happened while I was here, was that of an English ketch arriving here from the north, with thirty pipes of Canary wine. There was a merchant with it, who was from the same city, in England, as the servant of the minister of this town, and was well acquainted with him. Now, this merchant invited the minister's servant on board the vessel to drink with him; and it seems that the man became fuddled with wine, or drank pretty freely, which was observed by the minister. So they brought the servant to the church, where the post stood, in order to whip him. The merchant then came to me, and requested me to speak to the minister, as it was my fault that he had given wine to his countryman. I accordingly went to the commander of our little fort or redoubt, and invited the minister and the mayor, and other leading men, with their wives, who were very fond of eating cherries; as there were from forty to fifty cherry-trees standing about the redoubt, full of cherries. We feasted the minister and the governor and their wives, who came to us; and, as we were seated at the meal in the redoubt, I, together with the merchant, requested the minister to pardon his servant, saying that he probably had not partaken of any wine for a year, and that such sweet Canary wine would intoxicate any man. We were a long while before we could persuade him, but their wives spoke favourably, whereby the servant got free. Whilst I happened here, another farce was played. There was a young man, who had been married two months, who was complained of before the consistory, by his brother, that he had slept with his wife before they were married; whereupon they were both taken and whipped, and separated from each other six weeks. These people give out that they are Israelites, and that we at our colony are Egyptians, and that the English in the Virginias are also Egyptians. I frequently told

the governor that it would be impossible for them to keep the people so strict, as they had come from so luxurious a country as England.

The 14th, took leave of the House of Hope. This river is a fine pleasant stream, where many thousand Christians could obtain farms.

The 15th, early in the morning, we arrived again at the mouth of the river, and ran out of it. Sailed this day four miles past Roode-bergh, and came into a river where the English had begun to make a village, and where over fifty houses were in process of erection, and a portion finished.

The 16th, weighed anchor, and sailed by two places which the English had built up, and at noon arrived where two Englishmen had built houses. One of the Englishmen was named Captain Patrick, whose wife was a Dutch woman from the Hague. After we had been there two or three hours, proceeded on our voyage, and at evening reached the *Minates*, before Fort Amsterdam, where we found two ships had arrived from our *Patria*, one of which was a ship of the Company, the *Herring*, the other was a private ship, the *Fire of Troy*, from Hoorn, laden with cattle on account of Jochem Pietersz, who had formerly been a commander in the East Indies, for the King of Denmark. It was to be wished that one hundred to three hundred such families, with labourers, had come, as this would very soon become a good country.

The 10th February, I have begun to make a plantation, a mile and a half, or two miles above the fort, as there was there a fine location, and full thirty-one morgens of maize-land, where there were no trees to remove; and hay-land lying all together, sufficient for two hundred cattle, which is a great article there. I went there to live, half on account of the pleasure of it, as it was all situated along the river. I leased out the plantation of Staten Island, as no people had been sent me from Holland, as was stipulated in the contract which I made with Frederick de Vries, a manager of the West India Company.

The 15th of April, I went with my sloop to Fort Orange, where I wanted to examine the land, which is on the river. Arrived at *Tapaen* in the evening, where a large valley of about two or three hundred morgens of clay-soil, lies under the mountain, three or four feet above the water. A creek, which comes from the highland, runs through it,

on which fine water-mills could be erected. I bought this valley from the Indians, as it was only three miles above my plantation, and five miles from the fort. There was also much maize-land, but too stony to be ploughed.

The 25th, opposite Tapaen, lies a place called *Wick-quaes-geck*, where there is much maize-land, but stony or sandy, and where many fir-trees grow. We generally haul fine masts from there. The land is also mountainous.

The 16th went further up the river. Passed the *Aver-stro*, where a kill runs out, formed from a large fall, the noise of which can be heard in the river. The land is also very high. At noon, passed the highlands, which are prodigiously high stony mountains, and it is about a mile going through them. Here the river, at its narrowest, is about five or six hundred paces wide, as well as I could guess. At night came by the *Dance-chamber*, where there was a party of Indians, who were very riotous, seeking only mischief, so that we were on our guard.

The 27th, we came to *Esoopes*, where a creek runs in, and there the Indians had some maize-land, but it was stony. Arrived at evening, as it blew hard, before the Cats-kill. Found the river up to this point, stony and mountainous, unfit for habitations. But there was some lowland here, and the Indians sowed maize along the Cats-kill.

The 28th, arrived at *Beeren* (Bears') Island, where were many Indians fishing. Here the land begins to be low along the margin of the river, and at the foot of the mountains it was good for cultivation. At evening, we reached Brand-pylen's Island, which lies a little below Fort Orange, and belongs to the patroons, Godyn, Ronselaer, Jan de Laet, and Bloemart, who had also there more farms, which they had made in good condition at the Company's cost, as the Company had sent the cattle from Fatherland at great expense; and these individuals, being the commissioners of New Netherland, had made a good distribution among themselves, and while the Company had nothing but an empty fort, they had the farms and trade around it, and every boor was a merchant.

The 30th of April. The land here is, in general, like it is in France. It is good, and very productive of every thing necessary for the life of man, except clothes, linens, woollens, shoes and stockings; but these they could have if the country were well populated; and there could be made good

leather of the hides of animals, which multiply in great quantities. Good tan could be made of the bark of oak-trees. The land all along this river is very mountainous; some cliffs of stone are exceedingly high, upon which grow fine fir-trees, which may be discerned with the eye. There are, besides, in this country, oaks, alders, beeches, elms, and willows, both in the woods and along the water. The islands are covered with chestnut, plum, and hazel-nut trees, and large walnuts of different kinds, of as good flavour as they are in Fatherland, but hard of shell. The ground on the mountains is bedecked with shrubs of bilberries or blue-berries, such as in Holland come from Veeluwes. The level land, or old maize-land, is covered with strawberries, which grow here so plentifully that they answer for food. There are also in the woods, as well as along the river, vines very abundant of two kinds, one bearing good blue grapes, which are pleasant when the vines are pruned, and of which good wine could be made. The other kind is like the grapes which grow in France on trellisses,—the large white ones which they make verjuice of in France;—they are as large as the joints of the fingers, but require great labour, for these vines grow in this country on the trees, and the grapes are like the wild grapes which grow along the roads in France, on vines which are not pruned, and which are thick with wood, with little sap in it, for want of being attended to. There was this year, as they told me, a large quantity of deer at harvest and through the winter, very fat, having upon their ribs upwards of two fingers of tallow, so that they were nothing else than clear fat. They also had this year, great numbers of turkeys. They could buy a deer for a loaf of bread, or for a knife, or even for a tobacco-pipe; at other times they give cloth, worth six or seven guilders. There are many partridges, heath-hens, and pigeons which fly together in thousands, and our people sometimes shoot thirty, forty, and fifty of them at a shot. Plenty of fowl, such as belong to the river, and all along the river are great numbers of them of different kinds; such as swans, geese, pigeons, teal, and wild geese, which go up the river in the spring by thousands, from the sea-coast, and fly back again in the fall.

Whilst I was at Fort Orange, the 30th of April, there was such a high flood at the island on which Brand-pylen lived,—who was my host at this time,—that we were com-

pelled to leave the island, and go with boats into the house, where there were four feet of water. This flood continued three days, before we could use the dwelling again. The water ran into the fort, and we were compelled to repair to the woods, where we erected tents and kindled large fires. These woods are full of animals, bears, wolves, foxes, and especially of snakes, black snakes and rattlesnakes, which are very poisonous, and which have a rattle at the end of the tail, with many rattles, according to their age. As to what the land produces, the soil, which on the mountains is a red sand or cliffs of stone, but in the low plains, often clay-ground, is very fertile, as Brand-pylen told me that he had produced wheat on this island for twelve years successively without its lying fallow. He also told me that here the Indians put their enemies to death, as horribly as *this plate shows*, and had for some time past done justice to their enemies in this place. They place their foe against a tree or stake, and first tear all the nails from his fingers, and run them on a string, which they wear the same as we do gold chains. It is considered to the honour of any chief who has vanquished or overcome his enemies, if he bite off or cut off some of their members, as whole fingers. Afterwards, the prisoner is compelled to sing and dance, entirely naked, before them; and finally when they burn the captive, they kill him with a slow fire, and then eat him up; the commoners eating the arms and buttocks, and the chiefs eating the head. When these Indians fasten their enemy to the stake, he is compelled to sing, and accordingly begins to sing of his friends, who will avenge his death. They inflict a cruel death upon him, pricking his body with hot burning wood in different parts, till he is tormented to death. They then tear his heart out of his body, which every one eats a piece of, in order to embitter themselves against their enemies. Along this land runs an excellent river, which comes out of the Maquas county, about four miles to the north of Fort Orange. I went there with some Indians, and passed by a farm upon which a boor lived, whom they called Brother Cornelis. This river runs between two high rocky banks, and falls over a rock as high as a church, with such a noise that it is frequently heard at the farm, and when I was there it made such a loud noise that we could hardly hear each other speak. The water flowed by with such force, that it was all the time as

if it were raining, and the trees upon the hills, as high as the dunes at home, have their boughs constantly wet as if with rain. The water is as clear as crystal, and fresh as milk, and appears all the time as if a rainbow stood in it, but that arises from its clearness. There are a great many Indians here, whom they call Maquas, who catch many lampreys, otherwise called pricks. The river is about six hundred to seven hundred paces wide at this place, and contains large quantities of fine fish, such as pike, perch, eels, suckers, thickheads, sunfish, shad, striped bass, which is a fish which comes from the sea in the spring, and swims up the river into the fresh water as the salmon does. There are sturgeon, but our people will not eat them; also trout, slightly yellow inside, which I myself have caught, and which are considered in France the finest of fish. There are several islands in this river, of thirty, fifty, and seventy morgens of land in size. The soil is very good. The temperature is in extremes, in the summer excessively hot, and in winter exceedingly cold, so that in one night the ice will freeze hard enough to bear one. The summer continues to All Saints' day, and in December it will freeze so hard, that if there be a strong current, which loosens it, it will freeze in a night what has run over it in the day. The ice continues generally for three months, and although the latitude is forty-three, it is nevertheless always frozen for that period; for though sometimes it thaws, in pleasant days, it does not continue to do so, but it freezes again until March, when the river first begins to open, sometimes in February, though seldom. The severest cold comes from the north-west, as in Holland from the north-east. The reason of this cold is that the mountains to the north of it are covered with snow, and the north-west wind comes blowing over them, and drives all the cold down. This tribe of Indians was formerly a powerful nation, but they are brought into subjection, and made tributaries by the Maquas. They are stout men, well favoured of countenance, body and limb, but all of them have black hair and yellow skin. They go naked in the summer, except they cover their privy parts with a patch; but the children, and youth of ten, twelve, or fourteen years of age, run entirely mother-naked. In winter they throw over them an unprepared deer-skin or bear's hide, or a covering of turkey's feathers, which they know how to make; or they buy duffels of us, two ells and

a half long, and unsewed, go off with it, surveying themselves, and think that they appear fine. They make themselves shoes and stockings of deer-skins, or they take the leaves of maize and braid them together, and use them for shoes. Men and women go with their heads bare. The women let their hair grow very long, tie it together a little, and let it hang down the back; some of the men have it on one side of the head, others have a lock hanging on each side; on the top of the head, they have a strip of hair from the forehead to the neck, about three fingers broad, and cut two or three fingers long; it then stands straight up like a cock's-comb; on both sides of this cock's-comb they cut it off close, except the locks, as may be seen in the plate. They paint their faces, red, blue, and brown, and look like the devil himself. They smear their foreheads with bear-grease, which they carry along with them in little baskets. It would be much better for them to wash themselves, if they only thought so, and they would not be troubled with lice. Whenever they go journeying, they take with them some maize and a kettle, with a wooden bowl and spoon, which they pack up together and hang on their backs. When they become hungry, they immediately make a fire and cook it; they make the fire by rubbing sticks together, and that very rapidly.

They live generally without marriage, promiscuously; for though there are some who have wives, they continue together no longer than it suits both, and separating, each one takes another. I have seen them leave each other, and live a long time with another, leave the second, and return to the first, and be a couple again. When they have wives they do not let them sleep with another, and the wives the like.

The women after they are delivered, go immediately away, and if it be not cold, they wash themselves and the young child in the river, or in the snow. They will not lie down, for then they say they would starve, but they keep a-going. They cut wood, they walk, they stand, and work as if they had not been delivered, and we do not see that it injures them. The men have their concubines in great subjection. If they do any thing which displeases them, they seize a stick and beat them on the head, and so finish them. After I had observed the manners of these Indians, who carry on a fierce war with the French Indians, Corlear told me that he had been at their fort, where they had brought some Indians

they had captured on the river St. Lawrence, where the French live. They had taken three Frenchmen, one of whom was a Jesuit,—whose release our people hoped to obtain,—and had killed one.* All the children, of ten or twelve years of age, and the women whom they had taken in the war, they spared, except the very old women, whom they killed. Though they are so revengeful towards their enemies, they are very friendly to us. We have no fear of them ; we go with them into the woods ; we meet each other sometimes at an hour or two's distance from any house, and we think nothing more of it than if a Christian met us. They also sleep in the chambers before our beds ; but lying down upon the bare ground, with a stone or piece of wood under the head. They are very slovenly and dirty. They do not wash their faces and their hands, but let all remain upon their yellow skin, just as the savages do at the Cape of Good Hope, and look like hogs. Their bread is maize, beaten between two stones, when they are travelling ; but pounded sometimes when they are in their houses, in a large block, hollowed out, *as may be seen in the plate.* They make cakes of it, and bake them in the ashes. Their other food is deer, turkeys, hares, bears, wild cats, and their own dogs, &c. They cook their fish as they take them from the water, without cleaning them. They cook the deer with the entrails and all their contents, and very little, and if the entrails are then too tough, they take one end in the mouth and the other in the hands, and between the hand and mouth, they cut or separate them. They do the same thing generally with the flesh, for they carve little. They lay it in the fire as long as it takes to count an hundred, as in France a steak is laid upon a gridiron ; it is then done enough, and when they bite into it, the blood runs down the sides of the mouth. They will also eat up a piece of bear's fat as large as two fists, without bread, or anything else. It is natural for them to have no beards, and not one among a hundred has any hair around his mouth. They also have a great conceit of themselves, and in praising themselves, they say, "I am the devil," meaning that they are superior men. When they praise their tribe, they say they are great hunters of deer, or do this or that. So they say of all the *Mahakunosers,*—they "are great wise devils." They make their

* The Jesuit Father here referred to was Father Jogues. The person killed was René Goupil.

dwellings of the bark of trees, very close and warm, and kindle the fire in the middle. Their canoes or boats are made of the bark of trees, and will carry five or six persons. They also hollow out trees and use them for boats and skiffs, some of which are very large, and I have frequently seen eighteen or twenty seated in a hollow log, going along the river; and I have myself had a wooden canoe, in which I could carry two hundred and twenty-five bushels of maize. The weapons in war were bows and arrows, stone-axes and clap-hammers, but they have now obtained guns from our people. He was a villain who first sold them to them, and showed them how to use them. They say it was the devil, and that they durst not touch them, till an Indian came there with a gun, which they call *Kallebacker*. They also buy swords and iron axes from us. Their money is small beads made on the sea-side, of shells or cockles, which are found on the shore; and these cockles they grind upon a stone as thin as they wish them, and then drill a small hole through them, and string them on threads, or make bands of them the breadth of a hand or more, which they hang on the shoulders and round the body. They have also divers holes in their ears, from which they hang them; and make caps of them for the head. There are two kinds; the white are the least, and the brown-blue are the most valuable; and they give two white beads for one brown. They call them *Zeewan*, and have as great a fancy for them as many Christians have for gold, silver, and pearls. For our gold they have hardly any desire, and consider it no better than iron, and say that we are silly to esteem a piece of iron so highly, which if they had they would throw into the water. Though they bury their dead, they place them in a hole in a sitting posture, and not lying, and then throw trees and wood upon the grave, or enclose it with palisades. They have their set times when they go to fish; in the spring they catch immense numbers of shad and lampreys, which are very large; these they lay in the sun, upon the bark of trees, and dry thoroughly hard, and then put them in notessen or bags, which they plait of hemp, which grows wild, and keep the fish in them till winter, when their maize is ripe, from which they take the ears and pile them up in caves, and keep them there the whole winter. They also knit bow-nets and seines in their style. From religion, and all worship of God, they are entirely estranged; they have indeed one whom they

call by a strange name, who is a genius, whom they regard instead of God, but they do not serve him or make offerings to him. They serve, revere, and make offerings to the devil, whom they call *Ostkon*, or *Ayreskuoni;* for when they have any misfortune in war, they catch a bear, which they cut into pieces and burn, and offer it to their Ayreskuoni, saying the following words in their language, "Oh great and powerful Ayreskuoni, we know that we have sinned against thee, because we have not killed and eaten up the enemies we took captive. Forgive us this. We promise that we will kill and eat up all those whom we shall hereafter take prisoners as heartily as we have killed and eaten up this bear." So when it is hot weather, and there comes a cooling wind, they immediately cry out, "*Asoronusi*," that is, "I thank you, devil, I thank you *Oomke;*" and when they are sick, and have any sore or pain in the limbs, and I ask them what ails them, they say that the devil is in the body, or is sitting in the sore places and bites them there. They attribute to the devil whatever happens to them; otherwise they know of no worship of God. They ridicule us when we pray; some of them, when it was told them what we prayed, stood in wonder, and asked me whether I had seen in our country Him whom I worshipped. They will not enter any houses where there are women who have their terms upon them, nor eat with them; and who must not touch any snare in which they catch deer, saying that the deer can scent them. These *Maeckquase* Indians are divided into three tribes, one of which takes its designation from the bear, another from the wild tortoise, the third from the wolf; and of these that of the tortoise is the greatest and most celebrated, and claims to be the oldest. These Indians each have upon their banners the animal after which they are named; and when they go to war, carry it as a sign of terror to their enemies, as they suppose, and of courage to themselves.

Their government rests with the oldest, wisest, best-spoken, and bravest men, who generally resolve, and the young men and the bravest execute, but if the commonalty do not approve of the resolution, it is then submitted to the decision of the whole populace. The chiefs are generally the poorest among them, for instead of their receiving anything, as amongst Christians, from the commonalty, or of those in office enriching themselves by unrighteous means or otherwise, these Indian chiefs are made to give to the populace, especially

whenever there is any one left dead in war, and they then give large presents to the next of blood kin to the deceased; and if they then take a prisoner, they give him to the family to which the dead man belonged, and the prisoner is then adopted by that family in place of the deceased. There is hardly any punishment for murder and other crimes, but each one is his own judge, and the bereaved friends revenge themselves upon the murderer until he buys his peace by presents to the relatives. Although they are cruel, and live without any punishment of evil doers, there is not one-fourth part as much roguery and murder among them as there is among Christians; so that I have frequently wondered what murders happened in Fatherland, notwithstanding such severe laws and penalties, while these Indians, living without laws or fear of punishment, kill very few, and then only in anger and personal combat. We are, therefore, entirely without fear in going with the Indians, and walk an hour with them in the woods without harm. After I had observed the above written circumstances and manners of the Indians, I set out again for the river.

The 14th May, took my leave of the Commander at Fort Orange, and the same day reached *Esopers*, where a creek runs in, and where there is some maize-land upon which some Indians live.

The 15th, got under sail at break of day, with the ebb-tide, and at noon came to the Dance-chamber, where there were many Indians fishing; passed the Highlands, and at evening anchored at *Tapaen*, and remained there all night, near the Indians, who were fishing.

The 16th, weighed anchor, and sailed, with the ebb and a strong breeze from the north-west, in three hours to the Fort. The above-named river has nothing but mountains on both sides, little capable of sustaining a population, as there are only cliffs and stones along the river, as I have related before. There is here and there some maize-land, from which the Indians remove the stones and cultivate it. The tide flows up to Fort Orange by the pressure of the sea.

The 16th July, Cornelis Van Thienhoven, Secretary of New Netherland, departed with a commission from the head men and council of New Netherland, with a hundred armed men, to the Raritanghe, a nation of Indians who live where a little stream runs up about five miles behind Staten Island, for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction from the Indians for

the hostilities committed by them upon Staten Island, in killing my swine and those of the Company, which a negro watched,—whom I had been solicited to place there,—in robbing the watch-house, and in attempting to run off with the yacht Vrede, of which Cornelis Pietersz was master, and which met with an accident, and for other acts of insolence. Van Thienhoven having arrived there with the said troop, demanded satisfaction according to his orders. The troop wished to kill and plunder, which could not be permitted, as Van Thienhoven said he had no orders to do so. Finally, on account of the pertinacity of the troop, the said Van Thienhoven went away, protesting against any injury which should happen by reason of their disobedience and violation of orders; and having gone a quarter of a mile, the troop killed several of the Indians, and brought the brother of the chief a prisoner, for whom Van Thienhoven had been surety before in eighty fathoms of Zeewan, otherwise he too must have been put to death. Whereupon the Indians, as will hereafter be related, killed four of my men, burned my house, and the house of David Pietersz De Vries.* I learned also from Thienhoven that one Loockmans, standing on the mast, had misused the chief's brother in his private parts with a piece of wood, and that such acts of tyranny were perpetrated by the officers of the Company as were far from making friends with the inhabitants.

The 20th of October I went with my sloop to Tapaen in order to trade for maize or Indian corn. I found the Company's sloop there for the purpose of levying a contribution from the Indian Christians, of a quantity of corn. The Indians called to me and inquired what I wanted. I answered that I desired to exchange cloth for corn. They said they could not help me, I must go up the river, and should the Company's sloop in the meantime get away, they would then trade with me; that they were very much surprised that the Sachem, who was now at the Fort, dare exact it; and he must be a very mean fellow to come to this country without being invited by them, and now wish to compel them to give him their corn for nothing; that they had not raised it in great abundance, as one chief had generally but two women who planted corn, and that they had calculated only for their own necessities, and to barter some

* This is probably a mistake for Frederick de Vries.

for cloth. So this affair began to cause much dissatisfaction among the Indians.

The 1st of December. I have begun to take hold of Vriessendale, as it was a fine place, situated along the river, under the mountains, and at an hour and a half's journey there is a valley where hay can be raised for two hundred head of cattle, and where there is thirty morgens of corn-land, and where I have sown wheat which grew higher than the tallest man in the country. Here were also two fine falls from the mountains, where two good mills could be erected for grinding corn and sawing plank. It was a beautiful and pleasant place for hunting deer, wild turkeys, and pigeons; but the evil of it was, that though I earnestly took hold of the place, I was not seconded by my partner, according to our agreement, who was Frederick De Vries, a manager of the Company, and who thought that colonies could be built up without men or means, as his idea was that Godyn, Gilliam* Van Rensselaer, Bloemart, and Jan de Laet, had established their colonies with the means of the Company, which had brought there all the cattle and the farmers, and then the work began to progress. These persons were managers of the Company and commissioners of New Netherland, and helped themselves by the cunning tricks of merchants; and the Company having about that time come into possession of Peter Heyn's booty, bestowed not a thought upon their best trading-post at Fort Orange, or whether they would make farms there or not; but these fellows, through Rensselaer, who was accustomed to refine pearls and diamonds, succeeded in taking it from the other managers—partners. Michael Pauw, discovering that they had appropriated the land at Fort Orange to themselves, immediately had the land lying opposite Fort Amsterdam, where the Indians are compelled to cross to the fort with their beavers, registered for himself, and called it Pavonia. The Company, seeing afterwards that they were affected, much contention and jealousy was caused among them, because they who undertook to plant colonies with their own money, should have taken the property of the Company. Thus was the country kept by these disputes, so that it was not settled; for there were friends enough who would have peopled the country by patroonships, but they were always prevented by the contention of the

* Kiliaen.

managers, who were not willing to do anything themselves, for they would rather see booty arrive, than to speak of their colonies; but had the land been peopled, the fruit thereof would have been long continued, while their booty has vanished like smoke. There may be some managers and bookkeepers who are well off by it, but it does no good to the community, as the cultivation of the soil where every one is well off, and there is a steady income, is better than all the booty which we see consumed in bawdy-houses; for where is now all the booty of which the Dunkirkers have robbed us, and also all the booty of Flushing, which was taken from the Portuguese? It has also vanished like smoke, and those privateers who have taken it have gone to naught; they have drunk to no purpose, and p——— against the wall.

Anno 1641. The 20th August, the ship Eyckenboom (Oak tree) arrived here, in which came a person named Malyn, who said that Staten Island belonged to him, that it was given by the managers to him and to Heer Vander Horst, which I could not believe, as I had sailed in the year thirty-eight to take possession of said Island, and my men were now upon it. I thought better things of the managers than this, as the sixth article of privileges mentions that the first occupants shall not be prejudiced in their right of possession.

The 1st of September, my men on Staten Island were killed by the Indians; and the Raritans told an Indian, who worked for my people, that we might now come to fight them on account of our men; that we had before come and treated them badly on account of the swine; that there had been laid to their charge what they were not guilty of, and what had been done by the Company's men when they were on their way to the South River, who came ashore on Staten Island to cut wood and haul water, and then at the same time stole the hogs, and charged the act upon the innocent Indians; who, although they are bad enough, will do you no harm if you do them none. Thus I lost the beginning of my colony on Staten Island, by the orders of Commander Kieft, who wished to charge upon the Indians, what his own people had done.

The 2d of November, there came a chief of the Indians of Tankitekes, named Pacham, who was great with the governor of the fort. He came in great triumph, bringing a dead hand hanging on a stick, and saying that it was the

hand of the chief who had killed or shot with arrows our men on Staten Island, and that he had taken revenge for our sake, because he loved the Swannakens (as they call the Dutch), who were his best friends.

The same day Commander Kieft asked me whether I would permit Malyn to go upon the point of Staten Island, where the maize-land lay, saying that he wished to let him plant it, and that he would place soldiers there, who would make a signal by raising a flag, to make known at the fort whenever ships were in the bay, to which I have consented, —but am not to be prejudiced thereby,—and to let him have twelve to fourteen or fifteen morgens of land, without abridging my right, as he intended to distil brandy and make goat's leather.

Anno 1642. As I was daily with Commander Kieft, generally dining with him when I went to the fort, he told me that he had now had a fine inn, built of stone, in order to accommodate the English who daily passed with their vessels from New England to Virginia, from whom he suffered great annoyance, and who might now lodge in the tavern. I replied that it happened well for the travellers, but there was great want of a church, and that it was a scandal to us when the English passed there, and saw only a mean barn in which we preached ; that the first thing which the English built, after their dwellings, was a fine church, and we ought to do so too, as the West India Company was deemed to be a principal means of upholding the Reformed Religion against the tyranny of Spain, and had excellent material therefor, namely, fine oak-wood, good mountain stone, and lime burnt of oyster shells, much better than our lime in Holland. He then inquired who would superintend the work. I answered the lovers of the Reformed Religion who were truly so. He then said that I must be one of them, as I proposed it, and must give an hundred guilders. I told him that I was satisfied, and that he must be the first to give, as he was commander, and then elect Jochem Pietersz Kuyter, a devout person of the Reformed Religion, who had good workmen who would quickly prepare the timber, and also elect Damen, because he lived close by the fort ; that we four, as churchwardens, should undertake the work of building the church ; that the commander should give several thousand guilders on behalf of the Company, and then it would immediately be seen whether the rest would

be subscribed by the community; that the church should be built in the fort, to guard against any surprise by the Indians. Thus were the walls of the church speedily begun to be laid up with quarry-stone, and to be covered by the English carpenters with slate, or rather with oak-shingles; which, by exposure to the wind and rain, turn blue, and look as if they were slate.

About the same time a harmless Dutchman, named Claes Rademaker, (wheelwright,) was murdered by an Indian. He lived a short mile from the fort by the *Densel*-bay, where he had built a small house, and had set up the trade of a wheelwright. It was on the road, over which the Indians from Wickquasgeck passed daily. It happened that an Indian came to this Claes Rademaker, for the purpose of trading beavers with him for duffels-cloth, which goods were in a chest. This chest he had locked up, and stooped down in order to take his goods out, when this murderer, the Indian, seeing that the man had his head bent over into the chest, and observing an axe standing behind him, seized the axe, and struck Claes Rademaker on the neck therewith, who fell down dead by the chest. The murderer then stole all the goods and ran off. The commander sent to Wickquasgeck to inquire why this Dutchman had been so shamefully murdered. The murderer answered that while the fort was being built, he came with his uncle and another Indian to the freshwater, bringing beavers, in order to trade with the Dutchmen, that some Swannekes (as they call the Netherlanders) came there, took away from his uncle his beavers, and then killed him. He was then a small boy, and resolved when he should grow up, he would revenge that deed upon the Dutch, and since then he had seen no better chance to do so than with Claes Rademaker. Thus these Indians resemble the Italians, being very revengeful. Commander Kieft afterwards made an attempt to send some soldiers there, of whom Van Dyck, the ensign-bearer, had the command, but in consequence of the darkness of the night, the guides missed the way, and arrived there too late in the day, so that the attempt failed, and they returned again without effecting anything. Another expedition against these Indians was subsequently sent, which also miscarried. When Commander Kieft saw that these expeditions against the Indians miscarried, and that trouble would follow, and found that the people began

to reproach him with being himself safely protected in the fort, out of which he had not slept a single night, during all the years he had been there, and with seeking the war in order to make a bad reckoning with the Company, and began to feel that the war would be laid to his charge, he called the people together to choose twelve men to aid him in the direction of the affairs of the country, of which number I was, as a patroon, chosen one. Commander Kieft then submitted the proposition, whether we should avenge the murder of Claes Rademaker by declaring war upon the Indians, or not. We answered that time and opportunity must be taken, as our cattle were running at pasture in the woods, and we were living far and wide, east, west, south and north of each other; that we were not prepared to carry on a war with the Indians until we had more people, like the English, who make towns and villages. I told Commander Kieft that no profit was to be derived from a war with the Indians; that he was the means of my people being murdered at the colony which I had commanded on Staten Island in the year forty; and that I well knew that the managers did not desire a war waged against the Indians, for when we made our colony in the year 1630, in the South river at Swanendael, otherwise called Hoere-kil, our people were all murdered through some trifling acts of the commander whom we had stationed there, named Gilles Oset, as I have already mentioned in the beginning of my journal; that it was then proposed to the Company to make war upon the Indians, but the Company would not permit it, and replied that we must keep at peace with the Indians. This I related to Commander Kieft, but he would not listen to it. It becomes the managers to take care what persons they appoint as Directors, for thereon depends the welfare of the country. Were it the case that the East India Company had gone to work in the East Indies, as the West India Company here, they would soon have been there like the West India Company; but in the East Indies they made no person commander of a fort, if he be not well acquainted with the country, and have knowledge of the people sufficiently. But commanders are sent here whether they be fit or not.

About this time also I walked to Ackingh-sack, taking a gun with me, in order to see how far the colony of Heer Vander Horst had advanced, as it was only a short hour's journey behind my house. On approaching Ackinghsack,

about five or six hundred paces from where the colony was started, an Indian met me who was entirely drunk. He came up to me and struck me on the arm, which is a token of friendship among them, and said that I was a good chief; that when he came to my house, I let him have milk and everything for nothing; that he had just come from this house, where they had sold him brandy, into which they had put half water; that he could scoop up the water himself from the river, and had no need of buying it; that they had also stolen his beaver-coat, and he wanted to go home and get his bow and arrows, and would kill some one of the villainous Swannekens who had stolen his goods. I told him he must not do so. I then proceeded on to the house of Heer Vander Horst, and I told some soldiers and others who were there, that they must not treat the Indians in that manner, as they were a very revengeful people, and resembled the Italians in that particular. I then returned home, and on my way, shot a wild turkey weighing thirty pounds, and brought it along with me. I was not long home, when there came some chiefs from Ackinghsack, and from Reckawanck, which was close by me, and informed me that one of their Indians, who was drunk, had shot a Dutchman dead, who was sitting on a barn thatching it. They asked me what they should do; they said they durst not go to the fort; that they would give one or two hundred fathom of Zeewan to the widow and then they would be at peace. I told them that they must go with me to the fort, and speak to the commander; but they were afraid that, on going to the fort, he would not permit them to return home. I made them of good heart, by telling them that I would deliver them safe home. They went with me, at length, to the fort; and, going to Commander Kieft, told him the misfortune which had happened to them. He answered the chief of the Indians that he wanted the Indian who had done the act to be brought to him. They said that they could not do so, as he had run away a two day's journey to Tanditekes; but they wished the commander to listen to them, as they desired in a friendly way to make the widow contented, and to pay for the man's death with Zeewan, which is their money; it being a custom with them, if any misfortune befel them, to reconcile the parties with money. They laid the blame upon our people, saying that it was because we sold the young Indians brandy or wine, making them crazy, as they were unac-

customed to drink ; that they had even seen our people, who were habituated to strong drink, frequently intoxicated, and fight with knives. They therefore desired that no liquor should be sold to the Indians, in order to prevent all accident for the future. It seemed as if they had some fear that the governor would detain them, so they answered him, that they would do their best to get the Indian, and bring him to the fort. They then took their departure ; but on the way they told me that they could not deliver up the Indian to him, as he was a Sackemaker's son,—that is to say, as above, a chief's son. And thus the matter passed off.

Of what Genius and Condition this Nation of Men are, how they are clothed, and what Magistrates they have.

As I have related the manner of living, and the appearance, of the Indians at Fort Orange, I will state something of the nations about Fort Amsterdam ; as the Hackinsack, Tapaense, and Wicquas-geckse Indians ; and these are embraced within one, two, three, or four miles of the entrance of the river. Their manner of living is for the most part like that of those at Fort Orange ; who, however, are a braver, and a more martial nation of Indians,—by name, the Maquas, as before mentioned, and who hold most of the others along the river to Fort Amsterdam under tribute. The Indians about here are tolerably stout, have black hair, with a long lock, which they let hang on one side of the head. The hair is shorn on the top of the head like a cock's-comb, as is shown in the plate. Their condition is bad. They are very revengeful ; resembling the Italians. Their clothing is a coat of beaver-skins over the body, with the fur inside in winter, and outside in summer ; they have, also, sometimes a bear's hide, or a coat of the skins of wild cats, or *hefspanen*,* which is an animal most as hairy as a wild cat, and is also very good to eat. I have frequently eaten it, and found it very tender. They also wear coats of turkey's feathers, which they know how to put together ; but since our Netherland nation has traded here, they trade their beavers for duffels-cloth, which we give for them, and which they find more suitable than the beavers, as they consider it better for the rain ; and take two and a half in length of duffels, which

* Indian term for *raccoon*.

is nine and a half quarters wide. Their pride is to paint their faces strangely with red or black lead, so that they look like fiends. They are then valiant; yea, they say they are *mannette*, the devil himself. Some of the women are very well-featured, having long countenances. Their hair hangs loose from their head; they are very foul and dirty; they sometimes paint their faces, and draw a black ring around their eyes. When they wish to cleanse themselves of their foulness, they go in the autumn, when it begins to grow cold, and make, away off, near a running brook, a small oven, large enough for three or four men to lie in it. In making it they first take twigs of trees, and then cover them tight with clay, so that smoke cannot escape. This being done, they take a parcel of stones, which they heat in a fire, and then put in the oven, and when they think that it is sufficiently hot, they take the stones out again, and go and lie in it, men and women, boys and girls, and come out so perspiring, that every hair has a drop of sweat on it. In this state they plunge into the cold water; saying that it is healthy, but I let its healthfulness pass; they then become entirely clean, and are more attractive than before. The girls consider themselves to have arrived at womanhood when they begin to have their monthly terms, and as soon as they have them, they go and disguise themselves with a garment, which they throw over their body, drawing it over the head so that they can hardly see with their eyes, and run off for two or three months, lamenting that they must lose their virginity; and they therefore do not engage in any diversion by night, or other unseasonable time. This period being over, they throw away their disguise, and deck themselves with a quantity of Zeewan upon the body, head and neck; they then go and sit in some place, in company with some squaws, showing that they are up for a bargain. Whoever gives the most Zeewan is the successful suitor. They go home with him, and remain sometimes one, three, or four months with him, and then go with another; sometimes remaining with him, according as they are inclined to each other. The men are not jealous, and even lend their wives to a friend. They are fond of meetings to frolic and dance; but the women are compelled to work like asses, and when they travel, to carry the baggage on their backs, together with their infants, if they have any, bound to a board.

We will now speak of the Productions of the Country, and other things which serve for the support of the life of Man.

The productions are various. The principal one is maize, which is their corn, and which is called by us Turkish wheat. They pound it in a hollow tree, as may be seen in the plate. When they travel, they take a flat stone, and press it with another stone placed upon the first, and when it is pressed, they have little baskets, which they call *notassen*, and which are made of a kind of hemp, the same as fig-frails,—which they make to serve them as sieves,—and thus make their meal. They make flat cakes of the meal mixed with water, as large as a farthing cake in this country, and bake them in the ashes, first wrapping a vine-leaf or maize-leaf around them. When they are sufficiently baked in the ashes, they make good palatable bread. The Indians make use of French beans of different colours, which they plant among their maize. When the maize (which is sown three or four feet apart, in order to have room to weed it thoroughly) is grown one, two, or three feet high, they stick the beans in the ground alongside of the maize-stalks, which serve instead of the poles which we use in our Fatherland, for beans to grow on. In New Netherland, the beans are raised on the maize-stalks, which grow as high as a man can reach, and higher, according to the fertility of the soil. There are also pumpkins, water-melons, and melons. They (the Indians) dry the nuts of trees, and use them for food. There are also ground-nuts and white ground-nuts, which are poisonous to eat—a mason of the Company having died in consequence of eating one of them. There also grow here hazel-nuts, large nuts in great quantities, chestnuts, which they dry to eat, and wild grapes in great abundance. Our Netherlanders raise good wheat, rye, barley, oats, and peas, and can brew as good beer here as in our Fatherland, for good hops grow in the woods; and they can produce enough of those things which depend on labour, as everything can be grown which grows in Holland, England, or France, and they are in want of nothing but men to do the work. It is a pleasant and charming country, which should be well peopled by our nation only. Medlars grow wild and reversely from what they do in our country, as they grow in Holland open and broad above, but here they grow up sharp, the reverse of those in

Holland. Mulberry trees there are too, so that silkworms could be raised, and good silk made; and good hemp and flax, but the Indians use a kind of hemp, which they understand making up, much stronger than ours is, and for every necessary purpose, such as notassen, (which are their sacks, and in which they carry everything); they also make linen of it. They gather their maize and French beans the last of September and October, and when they have shelled the corn, they bury it in holes, which they have previously covered with mats, and so keep as much as they want for the winter and while hunting. They sow the maize in April and May.

Of the Animals and Cattle, and how they hunt and catch them.

There are great quantities of deer, which the Indians shoot with their bows and arrows, or make a general hunt of, a hundred more or less joining in the hunt. They stand a hundred paces more or less from each other, and holding flat thigh-bones in the hand, beat them with a stick, and so drive the creatures before them to the river. As they approach the river, they close nearer to each other, and whatever is between any two of them, is at the mercy of their bows and arrows, or must take to the river. When the animals swim into the river, the Indians lie in their canoes with snares, which they throw around their necks, and drag them to them, and force the deer down with the rump upwards, by which they cannot draw breath. At the north, they drive them into a *fuyk*,* which they make of palisades split out of trees, and eight or nine feet high, and set close to each other, for a distance of fourteen or fifteen hundred paces on both sides, coming together like a fuyk, as is shown in the plates; the opening is one or two thousand paces wide. When the animal is within the palisades, the Indians begin to come nearer to each other, and pursue it with great ardour, as they regard deer-hunting the noblest hunting. At the end of the fuyk it is so narrow that it is only five feet wide, like a large door, and it is there covered with the boughs of trees, into which the deer or animal runs, closely pursued by the Indians, who make a noise as if they were wolves, by

* A peculiar form of net, large at the entrance, and terminating in a snare.

which many deer are devoured, and of which they are in great fear. This causes them to run into the mouth of the fuyk with great force, whither the Indians pursue them furiously with bows and arrows, and from whence they cannot escape; they are then easily caught with snares, as may be seen in the plate. There are elks, chiefly in the mountains; also hares, but they are not larger than the rabbits in Holland; foxes in abundance, multitudes of wolves, wild cats, squirrels,—black as pitch, and gray, also flying squirrels,—beavers in great numbers, minks, otters, polecats, bears, and many kinds of fur-bearing animals, which I cannot name or think of. The Indians understand the preparing of deer-skins, of which they make shoes and stockings, after their fashion, for the winter.

*Of the Fowl which come in the River, and the Achter Col.**

'There are great numbers of two kinds of geese, which stay here through the winter, by thousands, and which afford fine sport with the gun. One kind is the grey geese, which weigh fifteen or sixteen pounds each; the other they call white-heads, weighing six or seven pounds, very numerous, flying by thousands, and of good flavour. There are large quantities of ducks, which keep along the saltwater shore, and gulls, small star-birds,† snipes, curlews, and many other shore-birds, which I cannot give the names of. The geese and ducks come here in September and leave in April. Many of the Indians say that they go to the river of Canada, where they breed their young; for the fishermen who sail to Newfoundland, find them there in great numbers in the summer time, when they are fishing there. On the fresh water are many swans. Land birds are also very numerous, such as wild turkeys, which weigh from thirty to thirty-six and fifty pounds, and which fly wild, for they can fly one or two thousand paces, and then fall down, tired with flying, when they are taken by the Indians with their hands, who also shoot them with bows and arrows. Partridges are numerous, but they are small. There are meadow-hens, as large as a year-old hen, and with feathers like those of a partridge; and white and grey herons in great numbers. Nothing is wanted but good marksmen with powder and

* Newark Bay. † Star-vogeltjes.

shot. Pigeons, at the time of year when they migrate, are so numerous, that the light can hardly be discerned where they fly. There are white and gray cranes, and a species of blackbird, as large as what is called in our country the starling or thrush, and which makes its appearance at harvest, when the corn named maize is ripe. These birds are called maize-thieves, because they fall upon the corn by thousands, and do great damage. I have seen one of our Netherlanders kill, in the commander's orchard at Fort Amsterdam, eighty-four of these birds at one shot. They are good-tasted, and similar to the thrushes in Fatherland. I have also seen, at different times, thirty to thirty-four pigeons killed at one shot, but they are not larger than turtle-doves, and their bodies are exactly like those of the turtle-doves in Fatherland, except they have longer tails.

Of the kinds of Fish which frequent the Sea and River as far up as the brackish and fresh water.

There are different kinds of fine fish on the seacoast for the wants of man, similar to those in Holland, as the codfish (in winter), haddock, plaice, flounders, herring, sole, and many more kinds of which I cannot give the names. There is a species of fish which by our people is called the *twelve*,* and which has scales like a salmon, and on each side six black streaks, which I suppose is the reason they call it twelve. It is the size of a codfish, very delicate, and good-tasted for eating; the head is the best, as it is full of brains like a lamb's head. The fish comes from the sea into the river in the spring, about the last of March and April, and continues until the last of May. It is caught in large quantities and dried by the Indians,—for at this time the squaws are engaged in sowing their maize, and cultivating the land, and the men go a-fishing in order to assist their wives a little by their draughts of fish. Sometimes they catch them with seines from seventy to eighty fathoms in length, which they braid themselves, and on which, in place of lead, they hang stones, and instead of the corks which we put on them to float them, they fasten small sticks of an ell in length, round and sharp at the end. Over the purse, they have a figure made of wood, resembling the devil, and when the fish swim into the

* Striped bass.

net and come to the purse, so that the figure begins to move, they then begin to cry out and call upon the *mannetoe*, that is, the devil, to give them many fish. They catch great quantities of this fish; which they also catch in little set-nets, six or seven fathoms long, braided like a herring-net. They set them on sticks into the river, one, and one and a half fathoms deep. There is also another kind of fish on the seacoast, which is called *thirteen** by us, because it is larger than the twelve. The scales of the thirteen are yellow like those of the carp, to which it is not unlike in shape. It is of the size of a codfish. Herring also come into the river. There is a species of fish caught on the shore, called by us stone-bream, and by the English *schip-heet*, that is to say, *sheep's-head*, for the reason that its mouth is full of teeth, above and below, like a sheep's head. Sturgeon are numerous in the brackish water, and as high up in the fresh water as Fort Orange. There are many kinds of fish which we have not in our Fatherland, so that I cannot name them all. In the fresh waters, are pike, perch, roach, and trout. There are fine oysters, large and small, in great abundance. In the summer-time crabs come on the flat shores, very good tasted. Their claws are of the colour of the flag of our Prince of Orange, white and blue, so that the crabs show sufficiently that we ought, and that it belongs to us, to people the country.

In what manner the Indians bury their Dead.

They make a large grave, and line it inside with boughs of trees, in which they lay the corpse, so that no earth can touch it. They then cover this with clay, and form the grave, seven or eight feet, in the shape of a sugar-loaf, and place palisades around it. I have frequently seen the wife of the deceased come daily to the grave, weeping and crying, creeping over it with extended body, and grieving for the death of her husband. The oldest wife by whom he has had children does this; the young wife does not make much ado about it, but looks out for another husband. They keep a portion of the dead in the house. I have seen at the North, great multitudes of Indians assembled, who had collected together the bones of their ancestors, cleaned them,

* Drum-fish.

and bound them up in small bundles. They dig a square grave, the size and length of a person, and over it erect four pillars, which they cover with the bark of trees, as may be seen in the plate;* they set a time when they will bury them, when all the friends will have a great gathering, and bring ample supplies of provisions. It is accordingly announced in their village, that a great festival is to be held, with frolic and dancing. This festival continues ten days, during which time their friends come from other nations on all sides, in order to see it held, and the accompanying ceremonies, which are attended with great expense. Under cover of these ceremonies, dances, feasts, and meetings, they contract new alliances of friendship with their neighbours; saying, that as the bones of their ancestors and friends are together in the little bundles (which appear in the plate), so may their bones be together in the same place, and that as long as their lives shall last, they should be united in friendship and concord, as were their ancestors and friends, without being able to be separated from each other, like as the bones of the ancestors and friends of each other were mingled together. One of them—their chief, a magician—delivers a speech over the bones (saying), "that if they remain thus united, their enemies can have no power over them." They then bury the bones in the grave, with a parcel of Zeewan, and with arrows, kettles, knives, paper, and other knick-knacks, which are held in great esteem by them, and cover them with earth, and place palisades around them as before related. Such is the custom on the coast in regard to the dead. The chief doctrine held among them is the belief in the immortality of the soul by some. Others are sceptical on this point, but not far from it, saying, when they die they go to a place where they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of the angels.

How the Indians at the North arm themselves when they go to War.

When I was at the North, I saw Indians who were going to war. They were armed as the figures show; their weapons were bows and arrows in the manner shown, which they carry

* The reference to figures in different portions of the narrative, is made to plates in the original work. See Introduction.

daily, and each one had in his hand a shield of leather as thick as buffalo-skin. I took it to be elk's-hide, as these animals are numerous there. If they wish to take a journey in winter, when there is snow on the ground, they bind two *things* under their feet, like the racket with which we strike the balls at tennis, in order to prevent them from sinking in the snow, as may be seen on the figure (of the man), who is accompanied by his wife.

This is a Representation of them when they dance and have a Feast.*

When they dance they stand two and two beside each other, which I have seen at the north. They dance in two, three, and four pairs. The first pair carry a tortoise in their hands, as this nation say that they have descended from a tortoise-father, at which I laughed. They then asked me where our first father came from. I said he was called Adam, and was made of earth. They said I was a fool to say that he was made of a thing that had no life. I replied that it was full of life, for it produced all the fruit upon which they lived. They answered that the sun, which they looked upon as God, produced it, for in summer he drew the leaves from the trees, and all the fruits from the ground.

Anno 1643. The 22d February, there broke out a war among the Indians. The Mayekanders, who came from Fort Orange, wanted to levy a contribution upon the Indians of Wickquasgeck and Tapaen, and of the adjacent villages. There were eighty to ninety of them, each with a gun on his shoulder. There came flying to my house, four to five hundred Indians, desiring that I would protect them. I answered them that I could not do it, as the Indians at Fort Orange were our friends, and that we could not interfere in their wars; that I now saw that they were children, that they were flying on all sides from eighty or ninety men, when they were themselves so many hundred strong; that it was displeasing to me that they should be *such* soldiers, as it was to mannetoe himself,—that is to say, the devil; but that I saw now that they were only children. As my house was full of Indians, and I had only five men with me, I made ready to go to the fort to obtain some soldiers for the pur-

* Referring to the plate.

pose of having more force in my house. So I took a canoe, as my boat was frozen up in the kill, and went in the canoe, or hollow tree, which is their boat, as before related, between the cakes of ice, over the river to Fort Amsterdam, where I requested Governor Kieft to assist me with some soldiers, as I was not master of my own house, because it was so full of Indians, although I was not afraid that they would do any harm ; but it was proper that I should be master of my own house. The Governor said he had no soldiers ; that I must see how it would be in the morning, and stop at night with him, which I did. The next day the Indians came in troops on foot from my house to Pavonia, by the Oysterbank, where the great body of them encamped. Some of them came over the river from Pavonia to the fort. I spoke to some of them, and they said that they had all left my house. These Indians went to Correlaer's bouwery, where there were some Indians from Reckeweck, opposite the fort, on Long Island, who were under a chief, named Nummerus, whom I well knew.

The 24th of February, sitting at a table with the governor, he began to state his intentions, that he had a mind to *wipe the mouths* of the Indians ; that he had been dining at the house of Jan Claesz. Damen, where Maryn Adriaensz, and Jan Claesz. Damen, together with Jacob Planck, had presented a petition to him to begin this work. I answered him that there was no sufficient reason to undertake it ; that such work could not be done without the approbation of the *twelve men ;* that it could not take place without my assent, who was one of the twelve men ; that moreover I was the first patroon, and no one else hitherto had risked there so many thousands, and besides being patroon, I was the first to come from Holland or Zeeland to plant a colony ; and that he should consider what profit he could derive from this business, as he well knew that on account of trifling with the Indians we had lost our colony in the South river at Swanendael, in the Hoere-kil, with thirty-two men, who were murdered in the year 1630 ; and that in the year 1640, the cause of my people being murdered on Staten Island was a difficulty which he had with the Raritaense Indians, where his soldiers had for some trifling thing killed some Indians, and brought the brother of the chief a prisoner to the *Mannates*, who was ransomed there, as I have before more particularly related. But it appeared that my speaking was of

no avail. He had, with his co-murderers, determined to commit the murder, deeming it a Roman deed, and to do it without warning the inhabitants in the open lands, that each one might take care of himself against the retaliation of the Indians, for he could not kill all the Indians. When I had expressed all these things in full, sitting at the table, and the meal was over, he told me he wished me to go to the large hall, which he had been lately adding to his house. Coming to it, there stood all his soldiers ready to cross the river to Pavonia to commit the murder. Then spoke I again to Governor William Kieft: "Stop this work; you wish to break the mouths of the Indians, but you will also murder our own nation, for there are none of the farmers who are aware of it. My own dwelling, my people, cattle, corn, and tobacco will be lost." He answered me, assuring me that there would be no danger; that some soldiers should go to my house to protect it. But that was not done. So was this business begun between the 25th and 26th of February in the year 1643. I remained that night at the governor's, sitting up. I went and sat in the kitchen, when, about midnight, I heard a great shrieking, and I ran to the ramparts of the fort, and looked over to Pavonia. Saw nothing but firing, and heard the shrieks of the Indians murdered in their sleep. I returned again to the house by the fire. Having sat there awhile, there came an Indian with his squaw, whom I knew well, and who lived about an hour's walk from my house, and told me that they two had fled in a small skiff; that they had betaken themselves to Pavonia; that the Indians from Fort Orange had surprised them; and that they had come to conceal themselves in the fort. I told them that they must go away immediately; that there was no occasion for them to come to the fort to conceal themselves; that they who had killed their people at Pavonia were not Indians, but the Swannekens, as they call the Dutch, had done it. They then asked me how they should get out of the fort. I took them to the door, and there was no sentry there, and so they betook themselves to the woods. When it was day the soldiers returned to the fort, having massacred or murdered eighty Indians, and considering they had done a deed of Roman valour, in murdering so many in their sleep; where infants were torn from their mother's breasts, and hacked to pieces in the presence of the parents, and the pieces thrown into the fire and in the water, and

other sucklings were bound to small boards, and then cut, stuck, and pierced, and miserably massacred in a manner to move a heart of stone. Some were thrown into the river, and when the fathers and mothers endeavoured to save them, the soldiers would not let them come on land, but made both parents and children drown,—children from five to six years of age, and also some old and decrepit persons. Many fled from this scene, and concealed themselves in the neighbouring sedge, and when it was morning, came out to beg a piece of bread, and to be permitted to warm themselves; but they were murdered in cold blood and tossed into the water. Some came by our lands in the country with their hands, some with their legs cut off, and some holding their entrails in their arms, and others had such horrible cuts, and gashes, that worse than they were could never happen. And these poor simple creatures, as also many of our own people, did not know any better than that they had been attacked by a party of other Indians,—the Maquas. After this exploit, the soldiers were rewarded for their services, and Director Kieft thanked them by taking them by the hand and congratulating them. At another place, on the same night at Corler's Hook on Corler's plantation, forty Indians were in the same manner attacked in their sleep, and massacred there in the same manner as the Duke of Alva did in the Netherlands, but more cruelly. This is indeed a disgrace to our nation, who have so generous a governor in our Fatherland as the Prince of Orange, who has always endeavoured in his wars to spill as little blood as possible. As soon as the Indians understood that the Swannekens had so treated them, all the men whom they could surprise on the farm-lands, they killed; but we have never heard that they have ever permitted women or children to be killed. They burned all the houses, farms, barns, grain, haystacks, and destroyed everything they could get hold of. So there was an open destructive war begun. They also burnt my farm, cattle, corn, barn, tobacco-house, and all the tobacco. My people saved themselves in the house where I lived, which was made with embrasures, through which they defended themselves. Whilst my people were in this state of alarm, the Indian whom I had aided to escape from the fort came there, and told the other Indians that I was a good chief, that I had helped him out of the fort, and that the killing of the Indians took place contrary to my wish. Then they

all cried out together to my people that they would not shoot them; that if they had not destroyed my cattle they would not do it; that they would not burn my house; that they would let my little brewery stand, though they had melted the copper-kettle, in order to make darts for their arrows; but hearing now that it (the massacre) had been done contrary to my wish, they all went away, and left my house unbesieged. When now the Indians had destroyed so many farms and men in revenge for their people, I went to Governor William Kieft, and asked him if it was not as I had said it would be, that he would only effect the spilling of Christian blood. Who would now compensate us for our losses? But he gave me no answer. He said he wondered that no Indians came to the fort. I told him that I did not wonder at it; "why should the Indians come here where you have so treated them?"

The 4th of March, there came three Indians upon Long Island, with a small white flag, and called out to the fort. Then Governor William Kieft asked who would go over to them. There was no one who was willing to do so, among all of them, except Jacob Olfersz and I, David Pietersz. de Vries. We went to the three Indians. They told us that they came from their chief, who had sent them to know the cause why some of his Indians had been killed, who had never lain a straw in our way, and who had done us nothing but favours? We answered them that we did not know that any of their Indians were among them. They then said we must go and speak with their chief, who had fled seven miles from there on the seacoast. We resolved to go with the Indians, for we believed that they were well disposed towards us two.

At evening we arrived at *Rechqua Akie*, where we found the chief, who had only one eye, with two or three hundred Indians, and about thirty houses. They led us into his house, and treated us to what they had, as oysters, and fish, which they catch there; told us we were tired, and must rest a little; they would early in the morning speak to us about the business upon which we had come there. During the night, I went out of the house, when there came an Indian to me, as the moon was shining, and told me I must come into his hut. I then went into his hut, and by the light saw he was an Indian, who lived half a mile from my house at Vriessendael, with his squaws, who lived there with

him, at which I was alarmed. Then he assured me, saying, that I was a good chief, and that I came to make *Rancontyn Maruit;* that is, in their language, to make a peace. I asked them how they came so far from their dwelling. They answered that they were out a hunting with these Indians, and had friends among them. I then returned to my comrade in the house of the chief. When the day began to dawn, we were awakened, and taken by an Indian, who led us into the woods about four hundred paces from the houses, and when we came there, sixteen chiefs were there of this Long Island, which is thirty miles long. They placed us two by ourselves, and seated themselves around us, so that we sat within a ring. There was one among them who had a small bundle of sticks, and was the best speaker, who began his oration in Indian. He told how we first came upon their coast; that we sometimes had no victuals; they gave us their Turkish beans and Turkish wheat, they helped us with oysters and fish to eat, and now for a reward we had killed their people. Then he laid down one of the sticks, which was one point. He related also that at the beginning of our voyaging there, we left our people behind with the goods to trade, until the ships should come back;* they had preserved these people like the apple of their eye; yea, they had given them their daughters to sleep with, by whom they had begotten children, and there roved many an Indian who was begotten by a Swanneken, but now our people had become so villainous as to kill their own blood. He then laid down another stick. This laying down of sticks began to be tedious to me, as I saw that he had many still in his hand. I told him that I knew all these things which he had told; that as to what happened to the Indians of Long Island, we were ignorant of any of them being with the other Indians; they should go with us to the fort, where the governor would give them presents for a peace. The speaking now ceased and they gave to each of us ten fathoms of Zeewan,—which is their money, each fathom being worth four guilders. Then they all rose up and said that they would go with us to the fort, and speak with our governor William Kieft. We went to the canoes for the purpose of going, and to make the journey shorter than when we came, for it took full three hours to go. When we reached the

* See Note A.

canoes, we found that the tide had not yet began to make, and that we must wait some time before it would be flood. In the mean time, an Indian came running up with a bow and arrow, who had come on a run six miles on behalf of a chief who had not been with us, and asked the chiefs who were going with us to the fort if they were so foolish as to go to the fort where there was such a villain, who had caused their friends to be so foully murdered ; and who, when so many of the chiefs were together at the fort, would keep them there, and thus all the Indians would be in distress, being without heads or chiefs, and the chief from whom he came would be entirely without advisers. They then asked us two if we understood what he said. We answered that this was a silly Indian, that they would find it otherwise, and would return home with good presents. Then one of the chiefs who knew me said, "we will go on the faith of your word, for the Indians have never found you to lie as they have other Swannekens." Finally, twenty of us went sitting in a canoe or hollow tree, which is their boat, and the edge was not more than a hand's-breadth above the water. Arrived at the fort about three o'clock in the afternoon. William Kieft came and made peace with the Indians, and gave them some presents. He requested them to bring those chiefs to the fort who had lost so many Indians, as he wished also to make a peace with them, and to give them presents. Then some of them went and brought the Indians of Ackin-sack and Tapaen and the vicinity, and the chiefs came forward, to whom he made presents ; but they were not well content with them. They told me that he could have made it, by his presents, that those days would never again be spoken off ; but now it might fall out that the infants upon the small boards would be remembered. They then went away grumbling with their presents.

The 20th of July, a chief of the Indians came to me, and told me that he was very sad. I asked him wherefor. He said that there were many of the Indian youths, who were constantly wishing for a war against us, as one had lost his father, another his mother, a third his uncle, and also their friends, and that the presents or recompense were not worth taking up ; and that he would much rather have made presents out of his own purse to quiet them ; but he could no longer keep them still, and that I must be careful in going alone in the woods ; that those who knew me would do me

no harm, but I might meet Indians who did not know me, who would shoot me. I told him that he ought to go to Commander Kieft at the fort, and tell the same things to him. We went to the fort, and coming to the commander, the chief of these Indians told the same things to him. Commander Kieft told this Indian he was a chief of the Indians, and must kill these young madcaps who wished to engage in a war with the Swannekens, and he would give him two hundred fathoms of Zeewan. I then laughed within myself, that the Indian should kill his friends for two hundred fathoms of Zeewan,—that is eight hundred guilders,—to gratify us. It is true that they do so towards each other, when they are at enmity with each other, but not at the will of foreigners. Then the Indian said this could not be done by him; that there were many malcontents. Had he (the governor) paid richly for the murder, it would have been entirely forgotten. He himself would do his best to keep them quiet, but he was afraid he could not, for they were continually calling for vengeance.

The 28th of September, arrived a herring buss from Rotterdam; the master was named Jacob Blenck. He was laden with a hundred pipes of Madeira wine, and had come by the way of the West Indies, wishing to go to the Virginias, but could not find them, and had sailed quite to New England. He could not sell his wine there, because the English there live soberly. He was compelled to return, and came along the coast inside of Long Island, through Hellgate to Fort Amsterdam; and coming here he could not expose his wines for sale, because here was a tax upon wines which the Company had established. He sold his wines to an Englishman to be taken to the Virginias. As he could find no one who could pilot him to the Virginias, he asked me if I would take him there, as he understood that I wished to go there in order to take a well-mounted ship for *Patria*, because my farms, where I had begun my colonies, were lying in ashes; and the Indians were discontented and desired to go to war again, or to have satisfaction. I promised the skipper that I would take him there, and told him that he must provide himself with provisions here, for it was difficult to obtain them in the Virginias, because every one there only produced for himself.

The 1st of October, nine Indians came to the fort at Pavonia, where there were three or four soldiers stationed to

protect a farmer who lived there, named Jacob Stoffelsz, towards whom they were so well disposed, that they did not wish to kill him. So they made a pretended errand, and persuaded him to go over to the fort (Amsterdam), and he came over accordingly; then they went under the guise of friendship, when the soldiers had no arms in their hands, and killed them all, except the son of his wife by a former marriage, whom they took with them captive to Tapaen. They set fire to the farm-house and all the other houses at Pavonia; and thus began a new war. The next day the governor came to me with the step-father of the boy that was made prisoner by the Indians. He was the son of Cornelis Van Vorst. The governor asked me if I would go to the Indians to obtain the release of the boy, as nobody dare go to the Indians except me. I said I would speak to one or two Indians; but if I brought them to the fort, they must not be misused, for they would come with me upon my word. So I went over to Long Island and brought with me two Indians to go to Tapaen to obtain the release of the boy. When I brought the Indians over, every one wanted to kill them, and I had enough to do to save them. I took them to a privateer which was lying there, which carried them away, and they released the boy.

The 8th of the same month I took my leave of Commander Kieft, and left in the Rotterdammer buss for the English Virginias; and, in taking leave of William Kieft, I told him that this murder which he had committed was so much innocent blood; that it would yet be avenged upon him, and thus I left him. Sailed past Staten Island to the headland at Sandy Hook, where we were detained two days by contrary winds. Picked each day some blue-plums, which are abundant there, and grow there naturally wild.*

The 11th, weighed anchor to sail from Sandy Hook to the Virginias, with a north-west wind and a weather shore.

The 12th, at daylight, the wind from the southeast straight on a leeshore, and it began to blow hard. We were in twelve fathoms water. When it was day, the skipper asked me if I knew where I was. I told him we must run into eight or nine fathoms, when we would be able to distinguish the land; but he was afraid of the shore, as he had never been here. Finally ran into shallower water, when he

* Wild plums are still found there.

asked me if I knew the country. I said, Yes; and I saw that we were by Cape May, before the South river. He then inquired of me whether we could not sail straight in. I said, No; that it was all over full of shoals, that we must enter at the south-west side. He then threw the lead, and had four fathoms, at which he was startled. I told him he must lay down the lead; that of my own knowledge it was all a shoal there. We then came by Cape Hinloopen in deep water, when I told him he might throw the lead, and he would find eight to nine fathoms, as he ran into the South Bay, close by the shore. We sailed in by the shore, and he said: "I was in this same place over seven weeks, and there were Indians here on land, and a-fishing, and I went ashore with my skiff and spoke Spanish to them, but they could not understand me. It was so full of shoals, I ran again out to sea and proceeded to New England." Then I said to the skipper: "Had you known the Indian language as I know it, you would not have sailed to New England. This land is called Swanendael, and these Indians destroyed a colony in the year 1630, which I began. Had you been able to speak to them, they would have taken you up the river to the Swedes, or to our people, who would have informed you that you had passed by the Virginias." I sailed up the Bay west by north along the west shore; at evening came before the river by the *Ruige-Bosjen*, where we anchored in four fathoms, hard bottom, and in the morning weighed anchor.

The 13th, sailed by *Reed Island*, and came to the *Verckens-kil*, where there was a fort constructed by the Swedes, with three angles, from which they fired for us to strike our flag. The skipper asked me if he should strike it. I answered him, "If I were in a ship belonging to myself, I would not strike it because I had been a patroon of New Netherland, and the Swedes were a people who came into our river; but you come here by contrary winds and for the purposes of trade, and it is therefore proper that you should strike." Then the skipper struck his flag, and there came a small skiff from the Swedish fort, with some Swedes in it, who inquired of the skipper with what he was laden. He told them with Madeira wine. We asked them whether the governor was in the fort. They answered, No; that he was at the third fort up the river, to which we sailed, and arrived at about four o'clock in the afternoon, and went to the governor, who welcomed us. He was named Captain Prins,

and a man of brave size, who weighed over four hundred pounds. He asked the skipper if he had ever been in this river before, who said he had not. How then had he come in where it was so full of shoals? He pointed to me, that I had brought him in. Then the governor's koopman, who knew me, and who had been at Fort Amsterdam, said that I was a patroon of Swanendael at the entrance of the Bay, destroyed by the Indians in the year 1630, when no Swedes were known upon this river. He (the governor) then had a silver mug brought, with which he treated the skipper with beer, and a large glass of Rhenish wine, which was given to me. The skipper traded some wines and sweetmeats with him for peltries, beaver-skins, and staid here five days from contrary winds. I went once to Fort Nassau, which lies a mile higher up, in which the people of the West India Company were. I remained there a half a day, and took my leave of them, and returned at evening to the Governor of the Swedes.

The 19th, I went with the governor to the Minckquas-kil, where their first fort was, and where there were some houses. In this little fort there were some iron guns. I staid here at night with the governor, who treated me well. In the morning, the ship was lying before the Minckquas-kil. I took my leave of the governor, who accompanied me on board. We fired a salute for him, and thus parted from him; weighed anchor, and got under sail, and came to the first fort. Let the anchor fall again, and went on land to the fort, which was not entirely finished; it was made after the English plan, with three angles close by the river. There were lying there six or eight brass pieces, twelve-pounders. The skipper exchanged here some of his wines for beaver-skins.

The 20th of October, took our departure from the last fort, or first in sailing up the river, called Elsenburg. The second fort of the Swedes is named Fort Christian; the third, New Gottenburg. We weighed anchor and sailed from the river; arrived at noon at Cape Hinloopen, and put to sea. Set our course along the coast south-west, quite southerly at first.

The 21st, we arrived in the Virginias, and passed by the fort into the Bay of Kicketan, where the skipper inquired for his factor, to whom he had letters, who immediately came aboard, and directed that he should sail up the river with

his wines to Jamestown, where the governor has his residence.

The 22d, we arrived before Jamestown, in our language called Jacob-Stadt—so named after the old king. I went with the skipper to the governor, who inquired whence he came, and what lading he brought. He said that he was consigned to a factor, and had sold his wines. Some Englishmen stood there who knew me, and that I had been in the Virginias before, in the time of other governors, and that I was the captain who, in the year 1635, when the Tortugas behind the Island of Spaniola were overrun, had saved the lives of fifty Englishmen who were wandering on the sea, almost without provisions, and would have perished if I had not saved them and brought them to the Virginias, where many of them still lived. This they told to the governor, although they said I had not spoken of it. There was a person interpreting the skipper, and they told the governor that I could speak good English, although I had been silent. Then the governor asked me why I came there, as he understood I had been there with my ships in the times of other governors. I answered him that I had begun to make a colony at the Dutch plantation upon Staten Island, but it was destroyed through the acts of the governor, who had provoked a war with the Indians, so that I came here to seek a passage to London, and thence to my Patria. He said I must remain the winter here, until the ships should leave with tobacco in the spring, and he would provide me a good ship, in which I would be well treated; but I must remain with him till then, and I should have as good as he had himself, for I was a man who had seen the world, and had sailed as a commander over all of it; that he had heard many speak of me before I came into the country now; that I had treated their nation well, and on that account he should use me well, and would have my society during the winter, as he was fond of, and in need of society. This governor was named Sir William Berkeley Knight. I thanked him for his kind offer, and said that I had promised the skipper to aid him, as he had never been here; but I would try to come occasionally for four or five days; which I did do. We proceeded with the ship one hundred and seven miles further up the river to Florida, where we discharged a portion of the wine; and I went daily from one plantation to another, until the ships were ready, and had their cargoes of

tobacco. I saw here the old practice of the English of losing their servants by gambling. I also saw here an Indian and a squaw of this country, whom they call *Saske Anneecks*, habited as shown in this plate. I occasionally examined their plantations, and found that the lands which had been exhausted by tobacco-planting, were now sown with fine wheat, and some of them with flax. This should be done in New Netherland. Here were now lying full thirty ships to be laden with tobacco, altogether fine English ships of twenty-four to twenty-eight, and eighteen guns, and also four Holland ships, which make a great trade here every year. This should be done in New Netherland, for it is all one kind of tobacco that grows here and in New Netherland, and also in South river, where it is not different, and in process of time twenty ships could be used in New Netherland; and ships with grain also go from thence with hemp and flax. Nothing is wanting but to carry men there, for the land upon this coast is very fertile. And to this end a law should be enacted, forbidding leaf-tobacco, which the English bring here; as the English have done in their country, forbidding foreign ships to take tobacco from there. Then would New Netherland quickly flourish; for now all that is carried from New Netherland, amount yearly in peltries to a hundred thousand guilders, or hardly so much, and the members of the Company are so jealous of each other, that it is not worth the while to have a company, for they are at a great expense there; but the land being free, as in the English Virginias, every one working for his own nation, and everything produced by labor out of the ground, millions would be returned, and the land populated at once; there would be no want of cargoes of the productions of the earth, as there is of peltries. Such would be the result of labor, as everything in the Eastern countries, and in other lands, is produced by it, corn, hemp, and flax. In course of time the country would become populous; and if we should again engage in a war with our old enemy, the King of Spain, we would be able to do him great damage in the West Indies, for we could sail from this country to the West Indies in from fourteen days to three weeks; but it takes sometimes three or four months from the Texel. We could proceed from here, and have every opportunity to make and equip our ships, and furnish them with provisions in New Netherland.

The 10th of April, as I had now passed most of my

time, during the winter, in going up and down the river, I went down to Jamestown to the governor, to thank him for the friendship which had been shown me by him through the winter. There was lying there a brave ship of twenty-eight guns, to the captain of which he recommended me to go over with him, who answered that the best in the cabin was at my service, and that I must have my goods carried on board. In going down to Jamestown on board of a sloop, a sturgeon sprang out of the river into the sloop. We killed it, and it was eight feet long. This river is full of sturgeon, as also are the two rivers of New Netherland. When the English first began to plant their colony here, there came an English ship from England for the purpose of fishing for sturgeon; but they found that this fishery would not answer, because it is so hot in summer, which is the best time for fishing, that the salt or pickle would not keep them as in Muscovy, whence the English obtain many sturgeon, and where the climate is colder than in the Virginias.

The 13th of the same month, took my leave of the governor, with my thanks, and drifted down the river to Blank Point, where there was a large fly-boat lying, mounting twelve guns, from Brustock, and there came two Londoners sailing down the river, intending to capture this fly-boat from Brustock (? Bristol), because the Brustock people adhered to the King, and the Londoners to the Parliament. So there was a sharp engagement with the fly-boat, which sailed into the creek at Blank Point, and the Londoners could not get nearer to it than a couple of musket-shots, because their ships drew too much water. They did what damage they could to each other with cannon shot, and some people were killed. At evening they ceased firing. We went on board of one of the London ships at evening, which did not now come to land, because the governor and all the people of the country were in favour of the King. These two ships were compelled to go to London without tobacco. They went in company with us. I was on board of one of these Londoners the night, and in the morning I went into the creek at Blank Point, and went on board of the fly-boat from Brust, which was damaged some by the two ships, and had lost a man who was a planter of the country, who had come on board to buy some goods. After we had examined her, we went ashore at Blank Point, where a captain lives

who is one of the council of the country, and holds a court every week. He has three or four persons of his council sitting with him. There all suits are tried, and those who are not satisfied with the judgment which is given, appeal to Jamestown, where a monthly court is held by the governor, who presides, and all the captains of the country, who are the judges. Every two or three miles has a captain, according as the places are populated. I passed the night here with this captain, whose name was Captain Matthews, and who was the first who began to populate this part of the Virginias. Although the Virginias are so unhealthy, they contain ten or eleven thousand men and women.

The 25th (? 15th) of April I took my leave of this captain, who was a good friend to me, and with whom I had formerly good correspondence. The English there are very hospitable, but they are not proper persons to trade with. You must look out when you trade with them, Peter is always by Paul, or you will be struck in the tail; for if they can deceive any one, they account it among themselves a Roman action. They say in their language, "He played him an English trick;" and then they have themselves well-esteemed. After I had taken my departure, I went leisurely walking to Newport, where the English ship was lying, taking in water, a ship of twenty-eight guns. Whilst I was on my way, it became very foggy in the woods where I was walking, and I could not see the sun. I came to two roads, and did not know which to take. I at length took the largest road, which led me to a pond of fresh water, which was four or five hundred paces in circumference, and about five or six feet deep, and there ran across it a dyke, over fifty paces long, and about six feet broad, which was made by the animal they call the beaver. It was set with stakes in the ground as thick as my arm, and boughs and earth had been brought in, as if done by men's hands. The trees stood there, from which this animal had sawed off the boughs with his teeth. It was wonderful to see that such an animal could make a dyke to hold the water so that it could not run out in the summer; and it was also wonderful to see that this animal had built a little house on the side of this pool, in shape like a hive, about one and a half fathoms high, with three stories. When the water of this pool rises in the winter, he retires to the highest story. The house has eight or ten holes; if they are beset when they are in their houses, they have

holes through which they can take to the water. On whatever side they may be attacked, they have a way of escape. These animals are good to eat, and taste like lamb's flesh; I have eaten of it several times. I proceeded on my journey, and went wandering in the woods, and was afraid that I had, in consequence of the fog missed my way, and that this beaver's path had misled me, and the evening was coming on apace. At last I saw at a distance an old burnt tree, to which I came. It appeared to have been burnt by the Indians, as the Indians in New Netherland do, where by every spring an old tree is to be found burnt. I went by this spring to rest myself, and put my ear to the ground to listen if I could hear the voices or noise of men. I could hear nothing. I took a pipe of tobacco, and drank of the water, which tasted the best I had ever drank. I found watercresses growing wild at this spring, and I eat of them, and was refreshed. I then heard a great noise, which startled me, as the night was approaching. I looked in the direction the noise came from, and I saw from thirty to forty deer coming on a full run towards me. They came to drink at this spring, and almost ran upon me before they discovered me. It began to clear away, so that I saw the sun, when I found that I had been going away from the habitations. I took my course by the sun, and having run about a half an hour, the sun went down, and I was distressed. At length I heard a dog barking, and I ran towards the noise, and came to a creek where an English house stood, and where they built boats; there was a carpenter there who carried me over the creek, and bid me welcome, and was glad that he had me in his house, as I had, some years ago, on board of my ship, well treated him, and he hoped to treat me well now. He immediately killed a turkey and some chickens. I considered this a better supper than to be lying in the woods all night at the mercy of the wolves and bears, and that without arms. So I related to him my adventure. I said in consequence of there being no sun, I had followed the largest path, and had taken the beaver's path. He said that he would in the morning give me a guide who would take me to the great river, and if I went along the stream of the river, I could not go astray. I took my leave of this Englishman in the morning, who had treated me so well, and thanked him for his hospitality. I went thence along the river to Newport, where the ships, eleven in number, were

all lying ready for sea, the least of them mounting from eighteen to twenty-eight guns. Went the same evening to Kicketan by the fort.

The 18th, the whole fleet weighed anchor and got under sail. The 1st of May, we sounded in eighty fathoms, sandy bottom, upon the bank which stretches across on the west of Ireland. It began to grow calm. The 2d of May we obtained sight of England and fourteen English Parliament ships met us. Our eleven prepared to fight them, supposing them to be the King's ships; but on coming up to them, found them to be friends; and all sailed on quietly together. Ran along the English coast, and arrived the last of May in the Downs, where I tarried eight or ten days, and heard the shots which were fired before *Greveling*, which the King of France had besieged. The 15th of June, I left the Downs for the Mase, and reached Goree on the morning of the 16th, where I hired a wagon to take me to Briel, and on the morning of the 17th, I arrived at Rotterdam, where I stopped a day or two, and on the 21st of June, in the year 1644, by the mercy of Almighty God, arrived here within my paternal city of Hoorn, where I have an ancestry of two hundred years on the father's side, and at Amsterdam on my mother's side, and came to my house at three o'clock, for which our God must be eternally praised, that he should have brought me again to my Fatherland, after such long and tedious voyages, and through so many perils of savage heathens.

NOTE A. See page 118.

THE Long Island Sachem, in reproaching the Dutch, at Rockaway, for their ingratitude towards his nation, who had given them provisions when they first came upon the coast, and had permitted them to pass the winter among them, with their goods to trade, while their ships returned to Holland, indirectly throws light upon a question which is of some historical importance,—that relating to the first European Settlement in the territory of New York. These transactions had happened within the lifetime of the speaker, and under his own eyes. The statement was not contradicted by those to whom it was addressed, and who must, in defence of their national character, have repelled it, if false; and it therefore may be taken as strictly true.

Historians of our State, both in and out of it, have sought to give an earlier date to the building of houses on Manhattan Island than any authentic evidence which we have seen will justify, fixing it as early as 1613. The author of this pretension, flattering now perhaps to local pride,—ever anxious to establish an early origin for the State,—but then intended for a fraudulent purpose, was the writer of "The Description of the Province of New Albion."* He asserts that Sir Samuel Argall, on his return from his expedition to Nova Scotia, landed at that time on Manhattan Island, where he found four houses. But this assertion is a part only of a gross fabrication, contrived by the writer of it, in order to aid a title under the British Crown, as will presently be shown. Contemporaneous authorities enable us to state, almost with certainty, when and under what circumstances the settlement took place, and to them we will first direct attention.

Hudson made his discovery in 1609, but remained only a month in the river. The first voyage after his was made by Hendrick Christiaensen (who had passed along the coast in a previous voyage to the West Indies, but did not venture in the river) and Adrian Block, who chartered a ship, commanded by Skipper Ryser, on their joint private account, and visited Hudson river, returning to Holland with two Indian youths. The period of their visit is not stated by Wassenaar, who is the principal authority for this voyage;† but he expressly states that this was the first voyage, and places it before Christiaensen's connection with the Company, organized under the general authority or grant of the States-General of the 27th March, 1614; for he says that Christiaensen, after he dissolved his connection with Block, made ten voyages by virtue of that grant, and the special grant made on 11th of October, 1614, in pursuance of the general one, sets forth that Block and Christiaensen had been on discovery to New Netherland, in command of separate ships, owned by certain private merchants of Amsterdam and Hoorn, therein named, in that year, under the encouragement of the General Octroy. So that the partnership of Block and Christiaensen must have been dissolved before then, and allowing time for their return on their own joint voyage, previous to the 27th March, 1614, when the General Octroy was passed, we may fix the time of that voyage in 1613, or one of the other three years succeeding Hudson's discovery; but in which year in particu-

* Printed in London in 1648, and reprinted by Mr. Force, Washington, 1837.
† Historisch Verhael. Sub anno 1624.

lar, we have no further means of determining, than that De Laet, and after him Stuyvesant (probably on the authority of De Laet), in his letter of the 20th of April, 1660, to the General Court of Massachusetts, say it was in 1610. In whichever year it was, there is no further account of their doings than as here given, which by no means countenance the supposition that they built any habitations. It is true that the West India Company, in a memorial to the States General, in 1634, state that one or two forts were built in New Netherland before 1614, but where they do not say; and it is to be observed that they speak loosely of a fort or forts, which were built by another Company than their own, and are contradicted by earlier authority.

The second voyage after Hudson's was that of an expedition sent out by the Association formed under the Octroy of March, 1614, by the merchants of Amsterdam and Hoorn, before referred to. It is expressly stated that this voyage was undertaken under the pledges of this Octroy; * consequently, it was after the 27th March, 1614. There were five ships, among which were the Tiger and the Fortune, under the command, respectively, of Block and Christiaensen, as before stated. It returned, as fairly may be assumed, within fourteen days previous to the granting of the special Octroy of the 11th of October, 1614, inasmuch as the Octroy of March required a report to be made within that period after the return from the voyage, to entitle the discoverers to exclusive privileges; and the Resolution of the States-General granting those privileges, states the fact that a deputation of these merchants was present to make their report on that day, the 11th of October. It occupied them, therefore, a term of about six months, to sail to and get returns from New Netherland.

The first buildings in New Netherland, of which the Dutch writers make mention, were forts, constructed for defence, and occupied as trading posts and habitations. The first one was built in 1614-15, at Castle Island in the North river, near Albany. De Laet says in one place it was 1614, and in another 1615. It was probably constructed as soon after the grant of the exclusive privileges was made to the Private Company as they could send back and have it done, and therefore after October 11th, 1614; or if not then, at all events after the first Octroy of March in that year. No mention is made by him, however, of any fort thus early on Manhattan Island.

De Laet also informs us that Block's ship (the Tiger) was accidentally burnt in 1614, and that he constructed here a yacht, with which he explored Long Island Sound, and that while near Cape Cod, he fell in with Christiaensen, and leaving the yacht, returned with him to Holland. The Company, in a memorial to the States-General on the 18th of August, 1616, as recited in their resolution of that date, state that the yacht was built on its account; confirming the statement of De Laet that the yacht was built as late as the summer of 1614. This yacht, which was called the Onrust, or Restless, was left here in command of Cornelis Hendricksen, who afterwards returned to Holland, and made a report of his discoveries in what is called the second voyage of the Company. Hendricksen's report was presented to the States-General on the 18th August, 1616, doubtless immediately on his arrival home.† He was thus two winters in New Netherland, those of 1614-15 and 1615-16. The Company continued to have voyages made hither until the expiration of their privileges on the first of January, 1618, when the trade was thrown open, and continued so until the establishment of the West India Company and settlement by it in 1621-3. De Vries, in the passage now under consideration, reports the Indians as stating that the Dutch wintered here for the purpose of disposing of their goods.‡ It is quite certain that Hendricksen was left in charge of them, and made his discoveries in disposing of some of them; for De Laet informs us that the yacht built by Block, was left here for the purpose of trading further,—"*ende liet de jacht*

* See the Resolutions of the States-General in Holl. Doc. I. 39.

† Holl. Doc. I. 53, *et seq.*

‡ De Laet, in Novus Orbis, Book III. c. 7, also speaks of their wintering here. The statement in the Breeden Raat, that it took them two winters to build the yacht is preposterous, as well as in direct contradiction to De Laet.

daer op de custe om vorder te handelen. It does not appear, if they erected temporary huts to live in, while building the yacht, or in which to store their goods, where they were put up, and from the claim being set forth by a Long Island chief, of aid by his people during the period, it is quite as probable that they were erected on Long Island, or elsewhere than on Manhattan Island, as on that Island.

After the expiration of the three years of exclusive privilege to the company of merchants, voyages continued to be made to the Hudson river on private account until the establishment of the West India Company, for the purposes of trade, to the post at Castle Island. * The first vessels sent out by that Company went up the river with some colonists, who built Fort Orange above the Fort of Castle Island, in 1623. In one of these ships, called the New Netherland, were a number of families of Walloons, some of whom, according to tradition, settled on Long Island, at the Bay, from them called the Waalebogbt; but whether at this time or not, is quite uncertain. Wassenaar states that the colony on Manhattan Island was planted, and Fort Amsterdam commenced to be built on it in 1625-6, which is the earliest period which we have seen mentioned of any settlement on that island, by any reliable authority; and it is to be remarked that the same annalist, in speaking of the supplies sent out by the West India Company in the year 1625, says that they were sent to the colony near the Maykans (Mohicans) on the river Mauritius, or, in other words, to Fort Orange; and is entirely silent as to any other colony already established on that river.

Such, succinctly, is the history of the progress of the Dutch, as given by themselves, in the territory of the State of New York, until the first settlement on Manhattan Island. It is entirely silent as to the alleged building of houses in 1613 on that island, and is strong negative testimony against the statement. There is, besides, a circumstance derived from another source, corroborative of the view here presented of the point under examination, also of a negative character, but equally strong. It is the visit of Captain Thomas Dermer to New York Bay in 1619. This person had been despatched by the Plymouth Company in England, with a ship, to the coast of New England. Leaving his ship at Monhegan, on the coast of Maine, he set out on the 19th of May in that year, in a small pinnace, to explore the coast to the south, for the purpose of discovering a passage to the South Sea; and, "in my way," says he, "I discovered land thirty leagues in length, heretofore taken for mayne, where I feared I had been embayed, but by the help of an Indian I got to sea again, through many crooked and straight passages. * * * * Once the savages had great advantage of us in a streight not above a boweshot, and where a multitude of Indians let fly at us from the banke; but it pleased God to make us victours; neere unto this we found a most dangerous catwract amongst small rockie islands, occasioned by two unequal tydes, the one ebbing and flowing two hours before the other: here we lost an anchor by the strength of the current, but found it deepe enough; from hence were wee carried in a short space by the tyde's swiftness into a great Bay (to us so appearing), but indeed is broken land, which gave us light of the sea; here, as I said, the land trendeth southerly. In this place I talked with many salvages, who told me of two sundry passages to the great sea on the west; offered me pilots, and one of them drew mee a plot with chalke upon a chest, whereby I found it a great island parted the two seas; they report the one scarce passable for shoalds, perilous currents, the other no questions to be made of. Having received these directions, I hastened to the place of greatest hope, where I purposed to make triall of God's goodnesse towards us, and use my best endeavour to bring the truth to light, but wee were only shewed the entrance wherein seeking to passe, wee were forced backe with contrary and overblowing windes, hardly escaping both our lives. Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood alongst the coast, &c." † Here we have his passage through Long Island Sound,

* Holl. Doc. I. 91. Dermer, in Gorges' Brief Narration, 11 and 30, 31. De Laet, in Nieuwe Wereldt, 93. Wassenaar, *sub anno* 1626. Letter of Sir Dudley Carlton in Lon. Doc. I. 9.

† Purchas, IV. 1778-9. This letter of Dermer was dated at Captain Martyn's plantation in Virginia, 27 Dec., 1619, and was published by Purchas in 1626. In the above extracts, he furnishes a remarkably accurate description of our rivers and bays.

Hellgate, and the East river, to New York Bay, broken with islands, and through the Bay and Narrows to the ocean. The two passages, which he supposed the Indians meant, to a western sea, were the Hudson and Raritan rivers, and the one of them of greatest hope, which he attempted to ascend, was the Hudson. The savages were of the tribes who held the conference with De Vries, and knew whether there were any Dutch on Manhattan Island; yet Dermer saw no buildings, or other indications of a settlement on the island, though he coasted along it on both rivers, and heard of none from the Indians. This we may conclusively infer from his silence; because in an account of his return voyage from Virginia to Monhegan, he does not omit to mention his meeting with certain Hollanders who had a trade in Hudson's river,—a circumstance of far less importance than the fact of an actual settlement there. The Hollanders whom he met were undoubtedly those in the ship commanded by Cornelis Jacobsen May, which was in the Chesapeake, in 1620.* May was one of the five shipmasters sent out by the Private Company in 1614, and appears to have continued making voyages to New Netherland until 1624, when he was appointed the first Governor of New Netherland under the West India Company, resident at Fort Orange. Dermer does not state where he met the Hollanders, but probably in the Chesapeake.† It was the information communicated by him to the Plymouth Company of the Dutch trade in Hudson's river, thus accidentally learnt from May, that led to the inquiries on the subject by the British government, through its minister at the Hague, Sir Dudley Carlton, hereafter referred to. Dermer, therefore, would not have omitted to state the important fact of there being houses on Manhattan Island, if there had been any when he sailed by it.

Independently of the statement of the author of the description of New Albion, it is clear not only that no evidence exists to show a settlement as early as 1613, but that we have most satisfactory proof of the contrary. As before intimated, however, his statement on this point is part and parcel of a story intended to show the title of the English to the territory by right of early conquest. We propose, therefore, to examine this pretension particularly, and to demonstrate its utter falsity. His account is in these words:—

"The Virginia being granted settled, and all that part now called Maryland, New Albion, and New Scotland, being part of Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale *and* Sir Samuel Argall, captains and counsellors of Virginia, hearing of divers aliens and intruders and traders without license, with a vessell and forty soldiers, landed at a place called Mount Desert in Nova Scotia, neer S. John's river or Twede, possest by the French, there killed some French, took away their guns, and dismantled the fort, and in *their* return, landed at Manhatas Isle in Hudson's river, *where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch Governour, under the West India Company of Amsterdam, share or part;* who kept trading-boats, and trucking with the Indians; but the said *knights told him their commission was to expell him* and all alien intruders on his Majestie's dominion and territories, this being part of Virginia, and this river an English discovery of Hudson, an Englishman—the Dutchman contented them for their charge and voiage, and *by his letters sent to Virginia and recorded*, submitted himself, company and plantation to his Majesty and to the governour and government of Virginia; but the next pretended Dutch governour, in maps and printed cards, calling this part New Netherland, failing in paying of customes at his return to Plymouth in England, was there with his Bever goods and person attached to his damage of 1500*l.*; whereupon, at the suit of the Governour and Councell of Virginia, his now Majesty, by his embassadour in Holland, complaining of the said aliens' intrusion on such his territories and dominions, the said Lords, the States of Holland, by their publique instrument declared, That they did not avow, nor would protect them, being a private party of the Amsterdam West India Company, but left them to his Majestie's will and mercy."‡

* De Laet in Nieuwe Wereldt, 39. † Gorges' Brief Narration, 11.
‡ Force's reprint, 18.

There are some circumstances which, at the outset, are calculated to throw discredit upon this statement. I. It does not purport to be founded on any personal knowledge or documentary or other evidence; but it is a naked assertion, not contemporaneous, made thirty-four years after the transactions are alleged to have taken place. II. The author, who styles himself Beauchamp Plantagenet, and who is otherwise an unknown person in the colonization of America, if not a fictitious one, put forth the story for the purpose of establishing title in himself. As, therefore, he states as facts, matters which were not notorious or established already in the known history of the time, we may reasonably refuse to admit their truth. III. It is not mentioned or alluded to by those contemporaneous writers, who not only possessed every means of knowledge on the subject, but were the historians of Argall's expedition. Thus, Ralph Hamor, who was in Virginia when Argall returned, and who gives a distinct account of Virginian affairs, and mentions the expedition;* Purchas, who discusses the rights of the English in this country, and furnishes an account of Argall's attack upon Fort Royal;† De Laet, who also relates the expedition against the French;‡ Gorges, who sustains the right of the English and his own grant of a part of new Netherland, and mentions the complaint to the Dutch government, made by the English through Sir Dudley Carlton in 1621; are all silent as to any visit by Argall to Manhattan. Governor Bradford, of Plymouth colony, offers this negative testimony in a peculiarly striking and satisfactory manner. In reply to a letter from the Dutch authorities in New Netherland, proposing to send a deputy to confer with the Plymouth colonists, he cautions them of the danger which might befall the messenger on his passage, adding this remark (dated Plymouth, August 14, 1627), "If you light either in the hands of *those in Virginia, or the fishing-ships which come to New England*, peradventure they will make prize of you, if they can, if *they find you trading within those limits, as they surprised a colony of the French not many years since, which was seated within those bounds.*"§ The governor, writing as he was to the Dutch, would have illustrated the danger of their falling into the hands of Pirates, not only by Argall's attack upon the French, but most appropriately by that upon the identical colony he was addressing, if any such had taken place; of which he must have known as well as the other. With him, we have five original and reliable authorities—contemporaries of Argall—writing of the events in the colony of Virginia, under different circumstances, for different objects, and without concert or reliance on each other,—one present with Argall himself in Virginia, another in England, collecting every thing, whether documentary or oral, in reference to this country—a third, a director of the Dutch West India Company, writing in Holland a history which is conceded to be the most authentic and full, as regards facts relating to North America, then written,—a fourth, interested as a grantee from the crown of England of a part of New Netherland, in producing every fact bearing upon the right of the English, who disputes the right of the Dutch, and therefore would not omit so strong a circumstance against it as their subjection by Argall,—and the fifth, in the adjoining colony in New England, who speaks of the jealousy of the Dutch on the part of his own countrymen—unitedly silent, when each and all of them must and would have mentioned the affair, if it had ever happened. Against this extraordinary omission of authentic writers, we have the unsupported assertion of a pamphleteer many years after the event, writing for the purpose of aiding a land speculation, founded on a title which was sought to be upheld by another fraud—that of a pretended grant from the King of England.‖

It is true that Samuel Smith, Chalmers, Ebeling, Belknap, Holmes, and Bancroft, credit the story, but they rely upon Plantagenet and Stith as their author-

* True Discourse of the present Estate of Virginia, 35-37.
† Pilgrimes IV. 1807, and margin.
‡ Nieuwe Wereldt, 71-9.
§ 8 Mass. Hist. Coll. 58.
‖ See Note to the translation of the Vertoogh Van Nieu Nederland, in N. Y. Hist. Coll. 2d series, vol. ii. 323.

ties. Heylin and De Britaine, writing subsequently to Plantagenet in the same century, give no authority, but evidently borrow from him. The accurate Prince, it may be remarked, does not give it any credit. Stith says that Captain Argall, in his return from Port Royal, visited the Dutch settlement on Hudson's river, demanded possession, and the *Dutch governor* submitted both himself and colony to the King of England, and to the Governor of Virginia under him. He gives no authority for this statement, but it is evident from his repeating the error as to the Dutch governor, presently to be referred to, that it is taken from Plantagenet. He does, indeed, say in the next paragraph, that we are indebted to Ralph Hamor for this part of the history of Virginia; but if he intended to give Hamor as authority for this statement, it is untrue. Hamor says nothing of a visit to Manhattan; though, as before observed, he speaks of Argall's voyage to Port Royal, and of his supplanting the French there. Hamor, it may also be observed, in addition to what is said above, appears, in his book, as the eulogist of Argall, whom he accompanied on his return to Virginia as governor, in 1617. He would have been the last one to omit so signal an exploit of his patron, as this was claimed to be, if it had ever happened. But be this as it may, he affords no testimony on the subject for the statement of Stith. There is, therefore, no authority for the statement, except Plantagenet.

But, passing by these circumstances of discredit, let us look at the story as it is told. The writer asserts that Argall found at Manhattan four houses built, and a Dutch governor under the West India Company. Now, the time of Argall's return to Virginia, from his expedition, can be fixed precisely. Champlain says that he left Port Royal on the 9th of November, 1613,* so that he must have reached Virginia before the termination of that year. He found then, according to this story, four houses and a Dutch governor in command at Manhattan, several months before the first grant of the States General to their subjects, which was passed, as we have seen, on the 27th of March, 1614, and nearly a year before the charter of Special Privileges, by which alone the Private Company acquired its right to make any trading establishment. It is of course idle to controvert the statement that the governor was under the West India Company, established, as it was, eight years after the pretended event; but, supposing the writer to have meant a governor under the Private Company, it is quite as evident that there could have been none at the time assigned for the submission of that functionary, namely, on the return of Argall from Nova Scotia. The writer says further, that the governor submitted in writing to the English, in a letter recorded in Virginia. No such letter has ever been found or mentioned by any chronicler of the events in the history of Virginia, or other writer, as it would have been if it had been made a record. Stith, who had the means of knowing of its existence, and who was indefatigable in the details of the history of Virginia, rejects it as untrue, inasmuch as he does not repeat this part of the account, while he admits the rest of it. Thus material portions of the relation are shown to be utterly false, discrediting by every rule of argument the whole of it. Another misstatement, not so material, but showing the general inaccuracy of Plantagenet, is, that Sir Thomas Dale accompanied Argall to Nova Scotia. This was not so; but as Purchas has it, in the margin before cited, "Sir Thomas Dale was Governor, and sent him," (Argall.)

We must, moreover, summon Argall himself to bear testimony against this claim. In 1621, eight years after the alleged transaction, Argall, who was one of the associates in the Company with Gorges, Mason, and others, united with them in a remonstrance to King James, complaining that *the Dutch had within the past year* possessed themselves of the country, and were about sending ships there again; but he says nothing of the former possession of the Dutch, and their submission to himself, which, as affording the strongest argument for the interference of the government, he would have done, if it had been true. An order of Council reciting this remonstrance was made, directing Sir Dudley Carlton,

* Champlain's Voyages. Book III. c. I. Ed. of 1830.

the minister at the Hague, to present the matter to the States General, and to have the plantation stayed.* Carlton made inquiries, and answered, under date of 5th Feb. 1627, as follows:—"I could find no more in the matter, but that about four or five years since, two particular companies of Amsterdam merchants began to trade into those parts betwixt forty and forty-five degrees, to which, after their manner, they gave their own name of New Netherland, a South and a North Sea, a Texel, a Vlieland, and the like, where they have ever since continued to send ships of thirty and forty lasts at the most, to fetch furs, which is all their trade; for the providing of which they have certain factors there, continually resident, trading with savages, but I cannot learn of any colony either already planted there by these people, or so much as intended."† This must be taken as a part of Argall's own testimony—that is, furnished by him. It corroborates the facts before stated, from other sources, in relation to the date of the first *Companies'* trading to New Netherland, and negatives the alleged conquest of Argall.

In conclusion, we have the evidence of Captain John Mason, who was one of Argall's associates, and who gives a history of the Dutch encroachments in a letter addressed to Sir John Coke. That letter is also important, as it was undoubtedly the source from which Plantagenet derived the facts from which he fabricated the story in question. It is too long to be given here entire, but an extract will explain the points under consideration. It is dated April 2, 1632, and states: "In the year of Our Lord God, 1621, or thereabouts, certain Hollanders were upon the coast of New England, trading with the Indians, between Cape Cod and the Bay de la Warre. * * The said Hollanders as interlopers fell into the middle, betwixt the said plantations (Virginia and New England), and at their return published a map in the Low Countries of the said seacoast, under the title of New Netherlands, giving the name of the Prince of Orange to the country and river of Manahata, and giving other Dutch names to other places as far as Cape Cod. And Sir Samuel Argall, Knt., with many English planters, were preparing to go and sit down in *his lot* of land upon the said Manahata river, at the same time when the Dutch intruded, which caused a demur in their proceeding, until King James, upon complaint of my Lord Arundel, with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knt., and the said Sir Samuel Argall (formerly Governor of Virginia), and Captain John Mason, of the said Dutch intruders, *Anno* 1621, had, by his Majesty's order, a letter to the Lord of Dorchester, their Ambassador at the Hague, questioned the States of the Low Countries for that matter, which the Lords the States *by answer* of their ambassador, Sir Noel Carron, did *disclaim, disavowing any such act.*"‡ Sir Samuel Argall's lot was a grant by the Plymouth Company, within whose bounds Manhattan was situated. Taking Argall's attack upon Nova Scotia and his subsequent interest in Manhattan under this grant, together with the disclaimer of the Dutch government, it is easy to perceive the materials out of which the statement of his subjugation of the Dutch was manufactured; while we have irrefragable proof in the acts of Argall and his associates, and of the British government in not claiming the right which the conquest by Argall would have conferred, at the time when its assertion was important, and the evidence of it was within themselves, of the entire falsehood of the story.

* See the Despatch of the Lords Privy Council in O'Callaghan, I. 96.

† Lond. Doc. I. 9. The original letter of Carlton is in the possession of the writer of this note.

‡ Lond. Doc. I. 20. O'Callaghan, I. 415.

II.

A SHORT SKETCH

OF THE

MOHAWK INDIANS IN NEW NETHERLAND,

THEIR LAND, STATURE, DRESS, MANNERS, AND MAGISTRATES,

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1644,

BY

JOHANNES MEGAPOLENSIS, JUNIOR,

MINISTER THERE.

REVISED FROM THE TRANSLATION IN HAZARD'S HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The Reverend Johannes Megapolensis, Junior, the author of the following tract, was a son of the Reverend Johannes Megapolensis, Minister of the Church at Coedyck, in Holland, and was born in 1603. He married his cousin Machteld Willemsen, by whom he had four children, Hillegond, Dirck, Jan, and Samuel. Having studied divinity, he became the minister of the Congregation of Schoorl and Berg, under the Classis of Alkmaar, in North Holland, where he remained until the spring of the year 1642.

At that period, there was only one minister, the Reverend Everardus Bogardus, settled in New Netherland, and his services were limited to Manhattan and its neighborhood. The want of a clergyman at Beverwyck (now Albany), in the Colonie of Rensselaerswyck, having been felt for some time, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the patroon of that Colonie, made an agreement with Domine Megapolensis, on the 6th of March 1642, to send him thither "for the edifying improvement of the inhabitants and Indians." The Patroon bound himself to convey the Domine and his family to New Netherland free of expense, and give him an outfit of three hundred guilders, provide him with a proper residence after his arrival, and assure him, for his first three years' service, an annual salary of one thousand guilders, besides thirty schepels of wheat and two firkins of butter, with the promise of an addition of two hundred guilders a year for the succeeding three years, "should the Patroon be satisfied with his service." On the other hand, Megapolensis agreed to "befriend and serve the Patroon in all things wherein he can do so without interfering with, or impeding his duties." As the Classis of Amsterdam was the ecclesiastical superior of all the Dutch Colonial Clergy, it was necessary to obtain its assent to this arrangement, and the Domine accordingly appeared before a committee of that body on the 18th of March,

and explained his views in wishing to settle himself in New Netherland. On the 22d of March the Classis attested a formal call for Megapolensis to preach the gospel and govern the church at Rensselaerwyck, "in conformity with the government, confession, and catechism of the Netherland Churches, and the Synodal acts of Dordrecht." This call, after some delay, having been approved by the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company, on the 6th of June, Domine Megapolensis set sail with his family from Holland, and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Beverwyck on the 11th of August, 1642.

A parsonage house was immediately allotted to the Domine, and preparations made for the building of a church, which was finished the next year, and was, besides that at Manhattan, the only one in New Netherland. The influence of Megapolensis soon produced salutary effects at Rensselaerwyck. The colonists revered and esteemed their faithful monitor, who executed the duties of his holy office very acceptably; and the counsels of the Domine were always received with respect by the Commissary and officers of the Colonie and of the Province.

Nor were the pious services of Megapolensis confined to his own countrymen. A part of his duty was to "edify and improve" the savages in the neighborhood. He therefore applied himself diligently to the task of learning what he termed the "heavy language" of the Mohawks, so as to be able to speak and preach to them fluently. The Red men around Fort Orange or Beverwyck were soon attracted to hear the preaching of the gospel; and Megapolensis, the first Protestant Dutch Clergyman on the northern frontier of New Netherland, thus gave, in 1643, the example of missionary zeal, which, three years afterwards, in 1646, was imitated, near Boston, by John Eliot, the "Morning Star" of a similar enterprize in New England.

An incident occurred about this time, which should not be omitted in any notice of Domine Megapolensis. Father Isaac Jogues, a noble-hearted and self-denying Jesuit missionary, while on his way from Quebec to the Chippeways, was taken prisoner by the Mohawks, and suffered horrible cruelties from the savages. During the winter of 1642–3, however, some of his persecutors began to listen to his teachings, and his situation was so far improved that he was allowed to make occasional visits, with parties of the Mohawks, to the neighboring Dutch at Fort Orange, who did all they could to effect his

deliverance. At length Jogues eluded the vigilance of the savages, and remained for several weeks in close concealment, during which constant kindness was shown him by Domine Megapolensis, who had become his warm friend. The Jesuit Father was eventually ransomed by the Dutch, and sent down to Manhattan, whence he sailed for Europe. Jogues returned to Canada in 1646, and again visited the Mohawks, by whom he was cruelly put to death.

In 1644, two years after his settlement at Beverwyck, Domine Megapolensis drew up the tract entitled *Korte Ontwerp van de Mahakuase Indianen in Nieuw Nederlandt, &c.*, or, "A Short Sketch of the Mohawk Indians in New Netherland, &c." This little work is said by Van der Donck (I. N. Y. H. S. Coll. [II. Series], p. 158,) to have been in the form of a letter written to his friends in Holland, by whom it appears to have been published—as the Domine himself said—"without his consent." Van der Donck, who is a very competent authority, adds, that it "may be fully credited, he [Megapolensis] being a man of truth and of great learning, who writes in a vigorous style." The Domine's tract gives a very interesting account of the Mohawk Indians, their habits and customs, of which but little was then known in Holland. Public attention in the Fatherland, however, through the representations of Melyn, Van der Donck, and others, was becoming more and more attracted to New Netherland, and in 1651, Joost Hartgers, of Amsterdam, published a small quarto pamphlet, entitled "*Beschryvinge van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt, Nieuw Englandt, &c.*" This little work was evidently compiled from De Laet's History, and Van der Donck's "Vertoogh," which had been printed the year before. Domine Megapolensis's tract was appended to this "Beschryvinge," and it forms the most valuable—certainly the most original—portion of Hartger's pamphlet, the handy shape of which no doubt gave it a large circulation. Though it was not published until 1651, or two years after the "Breeden Raedt" of Cornelis Melyn, this tract is, actually, in point of date of composition, the earliest separate account of a portion of New Netherland, of which we have any knowledge. Hudson's Journal in Purchas, and De Laet's History were published in 1625; but, excepting some official papers respecting the organization of the West India Company, there seems to have been nothing of interest respecting the Dutch Province printed, after those works, for more than twenty years. De Vries, indeed, treats of the leading events of New Netherland

between 1630 and 1643; but he did not publish his work until 1655, or four years after the appearance of Megapolensis' tract in Hartger's pamphlet. It will be noticed that De Vries, in describing the Mohawk Indians at the time of his visit to Fort Orange in 1640, uses the Domine's letter of 1644, very freely. An imperfect translation of it was published in 1792 by Ebenezer Hazard, in the first volume of his Historical Collections of State Papers, pages 517–526, which has been frequently referred to by American writers.

After serving for six years at Beverwyck, Domine Megapolensis, in 1648, made preparations to return to Holland, whither his wife actually went. This purpose he was about to execute the next year; but through the persuasions of Director Stuyvesant, who represented to him the urgent need of the Church at Manhattan, which, by reason of the retirement of Domine Backerus, the successor of Bogardus, was then without a pastor, he gave up his design, and, in August, 1649, was installed as the Minister of the Church of New Amsterdam, with a salary of twelve hundred guilders a year. Before he left Beverwyck, Megapolensis had written a catechism, for the benefit of those inclined to partake of the Holy Communion. This work he sent by his wife to the West India Directors, by whom it was placed in the hands of the Classis of Amsterdam for examination, with a view to its being printed and distributed in Brazil and elsewhere. The Classis, however, preferred to adhere to the Netherlands Catechism, of which they ordered a quantity to be sent out.

In the summer of 1650 the wife of Domine Megapolensis returned to him, from Holland, accompanied by their son-in-law, the Reverend Wilhelmus Grasmeer, of Grafdyck, in the Classis of Alckmaer.* Domine Grasmeer immediately went to Beverwyck, and remained in charge of the church there until the next year, when he returned to Holland with good testimonials, and endeavored to procure the appointment of assistant minister to his father-in-law, in the church of New Amsterdam. The Classis, however, owing to his being under censure for having left Holland without leave, declined his request; and soon afterwards Domine Samuel Drisius, of Leyden, who having lived some time in London, could preach in Dutch, French and English, was appointed Colleague with Domine Mega-

* See Correspondence of Classis of Amsterdam. Hillegond Megapolensis, however, was married, on the 24th of June, 1654, to Cornelis Van Ruyven, the Provincial Secretary of New Netherland.

polensis. Drisius arrived at New Amsterdam in the summer of 1652, where he remained for twenty years, a useful and acceptable minister.

Megapolensis was a very earnest supporter of his own church, and as vehement an opposer of other denominations. In 1654 he took a leading part in organizing a Dutch church at Midwout, or Flatbush, to which Domine Johannes Theodorus Polhemus was called as minister. Polhemus also preached at Breuckelen and Amersfoort, or Flatlands, alternately, on Sunday afternoons, until 1660, when Domine Henricus Selyns arrived from Holland, and took the Breuckelen charge. The Lutherans, who wished to establish a church of their own, met, however, with little favor from Megapolensis and his colleague, through whose influence several measures of restraint, savoring too much of bigotry, were adopted and enforced by the colonial authorities of New Netherland. Unauthorized "conventicles" as they were called, were forbidden, and for a time a species of religious intolerance disgraced the province. Before many years, however, better counsels prevailed, and Lutherans, Quakers, and other sects not of the established church, enjoyed greater freedom.

In 1655, Domine Megapolensis accompanied Director Stuyvesant in his expedition against the Swedes on the South or Delaware River, where he preached a thanksgiving sermon to the troops, on the surrender of Fort Casimir. The Domine thought the terms granted the Swedes too easy, among other reasons, because a Lutheran minister was allowed to remain in the exercise of his sacred functions there, though the Dutch had none of their own to take his place.

Megapolensis never lost his interest in the Mohawk savages, among whom he had spent his early years in the province. His letters to the Classis of Amsterdam contain several interesting details concerning them, from whom he obtained the missal and other memorials of his murdered friend, the missionary Father Jogues. In 1658, another Canadian Jesuit, Simon Le Moyne, who, in the summer of 1654, had discovered the Salt Springs at Onondaga, visited New Amsterdam, and became quite intimate with Megapolensis. He related to him his discovery at Onondaga, which the Domine communicated to the Classis in Holland, adding, however, a somewhat uncourteous expression of his doubt of the fact. Le Moyne seems to have been very anxious to effect the conversion of his Dutch clerical friend to the Romish doctrine, and wrote three polemical essays, which he sent to Megapolensis, after his return to the North. The

Domine, however, not shaken in his faith, prepared a reply to the Father, which he dispatched to him by a bark which sailed from New Amsterdam for Quebec. But the vessel—which was the first that cleared from Manhattan for Canada—on entering the Saint Lawrence was wrecked on the Island of Anticosti, and Le Moyne lost the benefit of the Domine's elaborate answer.

In the autumn of the same year, 1658, Megapolensis sent his youngest son Samuel, then going into his 25th year, to Holland, for the purpose of completing his education at the University of Utrecht, and of being ordained to the ministry. Samuel had studied the Latin and English languages at the "Academy of New England in Cambridge," and carried with him letters of recommendation from his father to the Classis of Amsterdam. After five years stay in Holland, Samuel took his university degrees in theology and medicine and was ordained as a minister. In the summer of 1664 he returned to New Netherland, and took the place of Domine Henricus Selyns, who went back to Holland. His charge included Breuckelen, the Waal-bogt, Gowanus, and Stuyvesant's "Bouwery," near New Amsterdam. The young Domine also assisted his father and Domine Drisius in the Metropolitan Church.

Not long afterwards, the Dutch province was obliged to surrender to the English forces, under Colonel Richard Nicolls. This event took place in September 1664. Both the Domines Megapolensis were prominent in the transactions which accompanied it; and, perhaps, it was owing chiefly to their remonstrances that Stuyvesant refrained from offering an unavailing resistance. The name of Samuel Megapolensis appears as one of the commissioners by whom the articles of capitulation were signed, at the Director's Bouwery, on the sixth day of September, 1664.

After the surrender, Domine Megapolensis remained in charge of the Dutch Church of New York, assisted by his colleague, Domine Drisius, and his son Samuel. The ministrations of the latter, however, were chiefly in the "adjacent villages," where he seems to have done good service. He also practised as a physician in the capital; but after five years' settlement, he became dissatisfied with the condition of things in New York, resigned his ministerial charge, and returned to Holland in the spring of 1669.

A few months after the departure of his son, Domine Megapolensis died. This event seems to have occurred suddenly, towards the close of 1669, as the Consistory of the Church of New York, on the 24th

of January, 1670, announced to the Classis of Amsterdam that their venerated pastor had been "snatched away by death." His widow survived him several years. Although he was not the first clergyman in the Dutch Church in New Netherland, he was the first who continued a settled minister until he died. His predecessors, Bogardus and Backerus, severally resigned their charges in 1647 and 1649. Megapolensis, after seven years' service at Beverwyck, and twenty years' labor at Manhattan, died in the discharge of his pastoral functions. He was a man of thorough scholarship, energetic character, and devoted piety; and he is entitled to high, if not preëminent position, in the roll of early Protestant Missionaries among the North American Savages. For nearly a quarter of a century he exercised a marked influence in the affairs of New Netherland. He saw the infancy of the Dutch Province, watched its growth, and witnessed its surrender to overpowering English force. His name must ever be associated with the early history of New York, towards the illustration of which his correspondence with the Classis of Amsterdam, now in the possession of the General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, and this sketch of the Mohawk Indians, form original and very valuable contributions.

NAMES OF THE MINISTERS *of the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York, in the order of their installation, with the dates of their several resignations or deaths from* 1633 *to* 1855.

[As a fitting appendix to this notice of Domine Megapolensis, and as a subject of general historical interest, the following list of the Ministers of the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York, in the order of their installation, with the dates of their several resignations or deaths, from 1633 to 1855, has been carefully prepared, and is believed to be quite accurate. It may be added, that portraits of all the deceased clergymen of that church, from Domine Dubois to the present time, are preserved in the Consistory Room, under the Middle Dutch Church, in La Fayette Place.]

	MINISTERS' NAMES.	Installed.	Resigned.	Died.
1	Everardus Bogardus,	1633	1647	1647
2	Johannes Backerus,	1647	1649	—
3	Johannes Megapolensis,	1649	—	1669
4	Samuel Drisius,	1652	—	1672
5	Samuel Megapolensis,	1664	1669	—
6	Wilhelmus Van Nieuwenhuysen,	1671	—	1681
7	Henricus Selyns,	1682	—	1700
8	Gualterus Dubois,	1699	—	1751
9	Henricus Boel,	1718	—	1754
10	Johannes Ritzema,	1744	1788	1796
11	Lambertus De Ronde,	1751	1788	1795
12	Archibald Ladlie, D. D.	1764	—	1778
13	John H. Livingston, D. D.	1770	1810	1825
14	William Linn, D. D.	1787	1805	1808
15	Gerardus A. Kuypers, D. D.	1789	—	1833
16	John N. Abeel, D. D.	1795	—	1812
17	John Schureman, D. D.	1809	1811	1818
18	Jacob Brodhead, D. D.	1809	1818	1855
19	Philip Milledoler, D. D.	1818	1825	1852
20	John Knox, D. D.	1816	—	—
21	Paschal N. Strong,	1816	—	1825
22	William C. Brownlee, D. D.	1826	—	—
23	Thomas De Witt, D. D.	1827	—	—
24	Thomas E. Vermilye, D. D.	1839	—	—
25	Talbot W. Chambers, D. D.	1849	—	—

Korte Ontwerp

van de Mahakuase Indianen in Nieuw Nederlandt,

haer landt, stature, dracht, manieren, en Magistraten;

BESCHREVEN IN 'T JAER 1644;

DOOR

JOHANNEM MEGAPOLENSEM,

JUNIOREM,

Predikant aldaer.

AMSTERDAM.

Bij JOOST HARTGERS,

Bookverkooper op den dam.

Anno 1651.

A SHORT SKETCH

OF THE

MOHAWK INDIANS, ETC.

THE land here is in general like that in Germany. It is good, and very well provided with all things needful for human life, except clothes, linen, woollen, stockings, shoes, &c., which are all dear here. The country is very mountainous, some land, some rocks, and so exceeding high that they appear to touch the clouds. Thereon grow the finest fir trees the eye ever saw. There are also in this country oaks, alders, beeches, elms, willows, &c. In the forests, and in the wilderness along the water side, and on the islands, there grows an abundance of chesnuts, plumbs, hazle nuts, large walnuts of several sorts, and of as good a taste as in the Netherlands, but they have a somewhat harder shell. The land on the hills is covered with thickets of bilberries or blueberries; the ground in the flat land near the rivers is covered with strawberries, which grow here so plentifully in the fields, that we go there and lie down and eat them. Vines also grow here naturally in great abundance along the roads, paths, and creeks, and you find them wherever you turn yourself. I have seen many pieces of land where vine stood by vine and grew very luxuriantly, climbing up above the largest and loftiest trees, and although they were not cultivated, the grapes were as good and sweet as in Holland. Here is also a sort of grapes which grow very large, each grape as big as the end of one's finger, or a middle sized plumb, and because they are somewhat filmy and have a thick skin we call them *Speck Druyven.** If we would cultivate the vines we might have as good

* Hog-grapes.

wine here as they have in Germany or France. I had myself last harvest a boat load of grapes and pressed them. As long as the wine was new it tasted better than French or Rhenish Must, and the colour of the grape juice here is so high and red that with one wine glass full you can colour a whole pot of white wine. In the forests is great plenty of deer, which in harvest time and autumn are as fat as any Holland deer can be. I have had them with fat more than two fingers thick on the ribs, so that they were nothing else than clear fat, and could hardly be eaten. There are also many turkies, as large as in Holland, but in some years less than in others. The year before I came here, [1641] there were so many turkies and deer that they came to the houses and hog pens to feed, and were taken by the Indians with so little trouble, that a deer was sold to the Dutch for a loaf of bread, or a knife, or even for a tobacco pipe; but now we commonly give for a large deer six or seven guilders. In the forests here there are also many partridges, heath-hens and pigeons that fly in flocks of thousands, and sometimes 10, 20, 30 and even 40 and 50 are killed at one shot. We have here, too, a great number of all kinds of fowl, swans, geese, ducks, widgeons, teal, brant, which are taken by thousands upon the river in the spring of the year, and again in the autumn fly away in flocks, so that in the morning and evening, any one may stand ready with his gun before his house and shoot them as they fly past. I have also eaten here several times of elks, which were very fat and tasted something like venison; and besides these profitable beasts we have also in this country lions,* bears, wolves, foxes, and particularly very many snakes, which are large and as long as 8, 10, and 12 feet. Among others, there is a sort of snake, which we call rattlesnake, from a certain rattle which is in its tail, two or three fingers breadth long, and has ten or twelve joints, and with this rattle it makes a noise like the crickets. Its colour is variegated like our large spotted dogs. These snakes have very sharp teeth in their mouth, and dare to bite dogs; they make way for neither man nor beast, but fall on and bite them, and their bite is very poisonous, and commonly even deadly too.

As to the soil of this country, that on the mountains is

* Panthers, or American Lions.

a reddish sand or rock, but in the low flat lands, and along the rivers, and even in the sides of the mountains for an hundred or two hundred paces up there is often clay ground. I have been on hills here, as high as a church, to examine the soil, and have found it to be clay. In this ground there appears to be a singular strength and capacity for bearing a crop, for a farmer here * told me that he had clean wheat off one and the same piece of land, eleven years successively without ever breaking it up, or letting it lie fallow. The butter here is clean and yellow as in Holland. Through this land runs an excellent river, about 500 or 600 paces wide. This river comes out of the Mahakas Country, about four miles † north of us. There it flows between two high rocky banks, and falls from a height equal to that of a Church,‡ with such a noise that we can sometimes hear it with us. In the beginning of June twelve of us took a ride to see it. When we came there we saw not only the river falling with such a noise that we could hardly hear one another, but the water boiling and dashing with such force in still weather, that it was all the time as if it were raining; and the trees on the hills there (which are as high as Schoorler Duyn §) had their leaves all the time wet exactly as if it rained. The water is as clear as crystal, and as fresh as milk. I and another with me saw there, in clear sunshine, when there was not a cloud in the sky, as we stood above upon the rocks, directly opposite where the river falls in the great abyss, the half of a rainbow, or a quarter of a circle, of the same colour with the rainbow in the sky. And when we had gone about ten or twelve rods farther downwards from the fall, along the river, we saw a complete rainbow, or half a circle appearing clearly in the water just the same as if it had been in the clouds, and this is always to be seen by those who go there. In this river is great plenty of several kinds of fish,—pike, eels, perch, lampreys, suckers, cat fish, sun fish, shad, bass, &c. In the spring, in May, the perch are so plenty, that one man with a hook and line will catch in one hour as many as ten or twelve can eat. My boys have caught in less than

* Brandt Peelen, of Utrecht, who lived on "Brandt Peelen's" or Castle Island, a little below Fort Orange. See De Vries, ante p. 91, and Van der Donck, in I. N. Y. H. S. Coll. (Second Series), page 159.

† Twelve English miles. ‡ The Cohoes Falls.

§ A "dune," or sand hill, on the coast of North Holland, near the village of Schoorl, where Domine Megapolensis had lived.

an hour fifty, each a foot long. They have a three pronged instrument with which they fish, and draw up frequently two or three perch at once. There is also in the river a great plenty of sturgeon, which we Christians do not make use of, but the Indians eat them greedily. In this river, too, are very beautiful islands, containing ten, twenty, thirty, fifty and seventy morgens * of land. The soil is very good, but the worst of it is, that by the melting of the snow, or heavy rains, the river is very likely to overflow and cover that low land. This river ebbs and flows as far as this place, although it is thirty-six miles † inland from the sea.

What relates to the climate of this country, and the seasons of the year, is this, that here the summers are pretty hot, so that for the most of the time we are obliged to go in our bare shirts, and the winters are very cold. The summer continues until All Saints' Day; but then begins the winter, in the same manner as it commonly does in December, and it freezes so hard in one night that the ice will bear a man. Even the river itself, in still weather and no strong current running, is frozen with a hard crust in one night, so that on the second day we can go over it. And this freezing continues commonly three months; for although we are situated here in 42 degrees of latitude, yet it always freezes so. But sometimes there come warm and pleasant days. The thaw however does not continue, but it freezes again until March. Then, commonly, the river first begins to open, but seldom in February. We have the greatest cold from the north west, as in Holland from the North East. The wind here is very seldom East, but almost always South, South West, North West, and North.

Our shortest winter days have nine hours sun; in the Summer, our longest days are about fifteen hours. We lie so far west of Holland that I judge you are about four hours before us, so that when it is six o'clock in the morning with us it is ten with you, and when it is noon with us, it is four o'clock in the afternoon with you.

The inhabitants of this country are of two kinds; 1st, Christians—certainly so called: 2d, Indians. Of the Christians I shall say nothing; my design is to speak of the Indians only. These among us are again of two kinds: 1st,

* A morgen is about two acres.
† A Dutch mile is about three English miles.

the Mahakinbas,* or, as they call themselves, *Kajingahaga;* 2d, the Mahakans, otherwise called *Agotzagena.* These two nations have different languages, which have no affinity with each other, as the Dutch and Latin. These people formerly carried on a great war against each other, but since the Mahakanders were subdued by the Mahakobaas, a peace has subsisted between them, and the conquered are obliged to bring a yearly contribution to the others. We live among both these kinds of Indians; and, coming to us from their country, or we going to them, they do us every act of friendship. The principal nation of all the savages and Indians hereabouts with which we are connected, are the Mahakuaas,† who have laid all the other Indians near us under contribution. This nation has a very heavy language, and I find great difficulty in learning it, so as to speak and preach to them fluently. There is no Christian here who understands the language thoroughly; those who have lived here long can hold a kind of conversation just sufficient to carry on trade with them, but they do not understand the idiom of the language. I am making a vocabulary of the Mahakuaa language, and when I am among them I ask them how things are called; but as they are very stupid, I cannot sometimes get an explanation of what I want. Besides what I have just mentioned, one will tell me a word in the infinitive mood, another in the indicative; one in the first, another in the second person; one in the present, another in the præter perfect tense. So I stand oftentimes and look, but do not know how to put it down. And as they have their declensions and conjugations, so they have their augments like the Greeks. Thus I am as if I was distracted, and frequently cannot tell what to do, and there is no person to set me right; I must do all the studying myself in order to become in time an Indian grammarian. When I first observed that they pronounced their words so differently, I asked the commissary of the company what it meaned. He answered me that he did not know, but imagined they changed their Language every two or three years; I told him in reply that it could never be that a whole nation should so generally change their language;—and, though he has been connected with them here these twenty years, he can afford me no assistance.

* The Mohawks. † The Mohawks.

The people and Indians here in this country are of much the same stature with us Dutchmen; some of them have very good features, and their bodies and limbs are well proportioned; they all have black hair and eyes, but their skin is yellow. In summer they go naked, having only their private parts covered with a patch. The children and young folks to 10, 12 and 14 years of age go mother naked. In winter, they hang loosely about them an undressed deer's, or bear's, or panther's skin; or they take some Beaver and otter skins, of wild cat's, raccoon's, martin's, otter's, mink's, squirrel's or several kinds of skins, which are plenty in this country, and sew some of them to the others, until it is a square piece, and that is then a garment for them; or they buy of us Dutchmen two and an half ells of duffels, and that they hang loosely on them, just as it was torn off, without any sewing, and as they go away they look very much at themselves, and think they are very fine. They make themselves stockings and shoes of deer skin, or they take leaves of their corn, and plat them together and use them for shoes. The women, as well as the men, go naked about the head. The women let their hair grow very long, and tie it together a little, and let it hang down their backs. Some of the men wear their hair on one side of the head, and some on both sides, and a long lock of hair hanging down. On the top of their heads they have a streak of hair from the forehead to the neck, about the breadth of three fingers, and this they shorten until it is about two or three fingers long, and it stands right on end like a cock's comb or hog's bristles; on both sides of this cock's comb they cut the hair short off, except the aforesaid locks, and they also leave on the bare places here and there small locks, such as are in sweeping-brushes, and then they are very fine.

They likewise paint their faces red, blue, &c., and then they look like the devil himself. They smear their heads with bear's-grease, which they all carry with them for this purpose in a small basket; they say they do it to make their hair grow better and prevent their having lice. When they travel, they take with them some of their maize, a kettle, a wooden bowl, and a spoon; these they pack up and hang on their backs. Whenever they are hungry, they forthwith make a fire and cook; they can get fire by rubbing pieces of wood against one another, and that very quickly.

They generally live without marriage; but if any of them have wives, the marriage continues no longer than they think proper, and then they separate, and each takes another partner. I have seen those who had parted, and afterwards lived a long time with others, seek their former partners, and again be one pair. And, though they have wives, yet they will not leave off going a whoring; and if they can sleep with another man's wife, they think it a brave thing. The women are exceedingly addicted to whoring; they will lie with a man for the value of one, two, or three schillings, and our Dutchmen run after them very much.

The women, when they have been delivered, go about immediately afterwards, and be it ever so cold it makes no difference, they wash themselves and the young child in the river or the snow. They will not lie down (for they say that if they did they should soon die), but keep going about. They are obliged to cut wood, to travel three or four miles with their child in a wood; they go, they stand, they work, as if they had not lain in, and we cannot see that they suffer any injury by it; and we sometimes try to persuade our wives to lay-in so, and that the way of lying-in in Holland is a mere fiddle-faddle. The men have great authority over their concubines, so that if they do anything which affronts them and raises their passion, they take an axe and knock them in the head, and there is an end of it. The women are obliged to prepare the land, to mow, to plant, and do everything;—the men do nothing, except hunting, fishing, and going to war against their enemies. They are very cruel towards their enemies in time of war; for they first bite off the nails of the fingers of their captives, and cut off some joints, and sometimes the whole of the fingers; after that, the captives are forced to sing and dance before them stark naked; and finally, they roast their prisoners dead before a slow fire for some days, and then eat them up. The common people eat the arms, buttocks and trunk, but the chiefs eat the head and the heart.

Our Mahakas carry on great war against the Indians of Canada, on the River Saint Lawrence, and take many captives, and sometimes there are French Christians among them. Last year, our Indians got a great booty from the French on the River Saint Lawrence, and took three Frenchmen, one of whom was a Jesuit.* They killed one, but the

* This happened on the 4th of August, 1642. The Jesuit Father, whose life

Jesuit (whose left thumb was cut off, and all the nails and pieces of his fingers were bitten,) we released, and sent him to France by a yacht which was going to Holland. They spare all the children from ten to twelve years old, and all the women whom they take in war, unless the women are very old, and then they kill them. Though they are so very cruel to their enemies, they are very friendly to us, and we have no dread of them. We go with them into the woods; we meet with each other, sometimes at an hour or two's walk from any houses, and think no more about it than if we met with a Christian. They sleep by us, too, in our chambers before our beds. I have had eight at once who laid and slept upon the floor near my bed, for it is their custom to sleep only on the bare ground, and to have only a stone or a bit of wood under their heads. In the evening, they go to bed very soon after they have supped; but they rise early in the morning, and are up before day begins to break. They are very slovenly and dirty; they wash neither their face nor hands, but let all remain upon their yellow skin, and look as dirty as hogs. Their bread is Indian corn beaten to pieces between two stones, of which they make a cake, and bake it in the ashes: their other victuals are venison, turkies, hares, bears, wild cats, their own dogs, &c. The fish they cook just as they get them out of the water without cleansing; also the entrails of deer with all their contents, which they cook a little; and if the entrails are then too tough, they take one end in their mouth, and the other in their hand, and between hand and mouth they separate and eat them. So they do commonly with the flesh, for they carve a little piece and lay it on the fire, as long as till one can go from house to church, and then it is done; and when they eat it, the blood runs down their

was spared, was Isaac Jogues; the one killed was René Goupil, a *donné*, or novice. In the summer of the following year, Jogues visited Fort Orange, where Domine Megapolensis showed him great kindness. He sailed from Manhattan for Europe on the 5th of November, 1643. Returning to Canada, Jogues again visited the Mohawk country in 1646, and gave the name "Saint Sacrament" to what is now known as "Lake George," because he first saw it on Corpus Christi day. He was murdered by the Mohawks on the 18th of October, 1646. De Vries refers to Jogues' capture, under date of his own visit to Fort Orange in 1640, which was two years before the Jesuit Father's misfortune happened. He no doubt got the facts, chiefly, from this tract, which he uses freely and follows closely. See *ante*, page 89 to page 97, for the portion of De Vries' work, copied almost word for word from Megapolensis. There are a few transpositions and alterations. The translation is, in general, sufficiently accurate.

chins. They can also take a piece of bear-grease as large as two fists, and eat it up so without bread or anything else. It is natural to them to have no beards; not one in an hundred has any hair about his mouth.

They have also naturally a great opinion of themselves; they say, *Ihy Othkon*, ("I am the devil;") by which they mean that they are superior folks. In order to praise themselves and their people, whenever we tell them they are very expert at catching deer, or doing this and that, they say, *Tkoschs ko, aguweechon Kajingahaga kouaane Jountuckcha Othkon;* that is, "Really all the Mohawks are very cunning Devils." They make their houses of the bark of trees, very close and warm, and kindle their fire in the middle of them. They also make of the peeling and bark of trees, canoes or small boats, which will carry four, five and six persons. In like manner they hollow out trees, and use them for boats, some of which are very large. I have several times sat and sailed with ten, twelve and fourteen persons in one of these hollowed logs. We have in our colony* a wooden canoe obtained from the Indians, which will easily carry two hundred schepels† of wheat. The arms used by them in war were formerly a bow and arrow, with a stone axe and clap hammer, or mallet; but now they get from our people guns, swords, iron axes and mallets. Their money consists of certain little bones, made of the shells of cockles, which are found on the sea-beach; a hole is drilled through the middle of the little bones, and these they string upon thread, or they make of them belts as broad as a hand, or broader, which they hang on their necks, or around their bodies;—they have also several holes in their ears, and there they likewise hang some. They value these little bones as highly as many Christians do gold, silver and pearls; but they have no idea of our money, and esteem it no better than Iron. I once showed one of their chiefs a rix-dollar; he asked how much it was worth among the Christians; and when I told him, he laughed exceedingly at us, saying we were fools to value a piece of iron so highly; and if he had such money, he would throw it into the river. They place their dead upright in holes, and do not lay them down, and then they throw some trees and wood on the grave, or enclose it with palisades. They have their set times for going

* Rensselaerswyck. † A schepel is about three pecks.

to catch fish, bears, panthers, and beavers. In the spring, they catch vast quantities of shad and lampreys, which are very large here:—they lay them on the bark of trees in the sun, and dry them thoroughly hard, and then put them in "notasten," or bags, which they plait from hemp which grows wild here, and keep the fish till winter. When their corn is ripe, they take off the ears and put them in deep pits, and preserve them therein the whole winter. They can also make nets and seines in their fashion; and when they want to fish with seines, ten or twelve men will go together and help each other, all of whom own the seine in common.

They are entire strangers to all religion, but they have a *Tharonhijouaagon*, (whom they also otherwise call *Athzoockkuatoriaho*,) that is, *a Genius*, whom they esteem in the place of God; but they do not serve or present offerings to him. They worship and present offerings to the devil, whom they call *Otskon*, or *Aireskuoni*. If they have any bad luck in war, they catch a bear, which they cut in pieces, and roast, and that they offer up to their *Aireskuoni*, saying the following words: "Oh! great and mighty Aireskuoni, we know that we have offended against thee, inasmuch as we have not killed and eaten our captive enemies;—forgive us this. We promise that we will kill and eat all the captives we shall hereafter take as certainly as we have killed, and now eat this bear." Also when the weather is very hot, and there comes a cooling breeze, they cry out directly, *Asoronusi, asoronusi, Otskon aworouhsi reinnuha;* that is, "I thank thee, I thank thee, devil, I thank thee, Oomke!" If they are sick, or have a pain or soreness any where in their limbs, and I ask them what ails them? they say that the devil sits in their body, or in the sore places, and bites them there; and they always attribute to the devil the accidents which befal them; they have otherwise no religion. When we pray they laugh at us. Some of them despise it entirely; and some, when we tell them what we do when we pray, stand astonished. When we have a sermon, sometimes ten or twelve of them, more or less, will attend, each having a long tobacco pipe, made by himself, in his mouth, and will stand awhile and look, and afterwards ask me what I was doing and what I wanted, that I stood there alone and made so many words, while none of the rest might speak? I tell them that I admonish the Christians, that

they must not steal, nor commit lewdness, nor get drunk, nor commit murder, and that they too ought not to do these things; and that I intend in process of time to preach the same to them and come to them in their own country and castles (about three Days' journey from here, further inland) when I am acquainted with their language. They say I do well to teach the Christians; but immediately add, *Diatennon jawij Assyreoni, hagiowisk*, that is, "Why do so many Christians do these things?" They call us *Assyreoni*, that is, cloth-makers, or *Charistooni*, that is, iron workers, because our people first brought cloth and iron among them.

They will not come into a house where there is a menstruous woman, nor eat with her. No woman must touch their snares in which they catch deer, for they say the deer can scent it.

The other day an old woman came to our house, and told my people that her forefathers had told her "that *Tharonhij-Jagon*, that is, God, once went out a-walking with his brother, and a dispute arose between them, and God killed his brother." I suppose this fable took its rise from Cain and Abel. They have a droll theory of the Creation, for they think that a pregnant woman fell down from heaven, and that a tortoise, (of which there are plenty here, in this country, of two, three and four feet long, some with two heads, very mischievous and addicted to biting) took this pregnant woman on its back, because every place was covered with water; and that the woman sitting upon the tortoise grabbled with her hands in the water, and scratched up some of the earth; whence it finally happened that the earth became elevated above the water. They think that there are more worlds than one, and that we came from another world.

The *Mohawk* Indians are divided into three tribes, which are called *Ochkari, Anaware, Oknaho*, that is, the bear, the tortoise and the wolf. Of these, the tortoise is the greatest and most eminent; and they boast that they are the oldest descendants of the woman before mentioned. These have made a fort of palisades, and they call their castle *Asserué*. Those of the bear are the next to these, and their castle is called by them *Banagiro*. The last are a progeny of these, and their castle is called *Thenondiogo*. Each of

these tribes carries the beast after which it is called (as the arms in its banner) when it goes to war against its enemies, and this is done as well for the terror of its enemies, as for a sign of its own bravery. Lately one of their chiefs came to me and presented me with a beaver, an otter, and some cloth he had taken from the French, the which I must receive as a token of friendship. When he opened his budget there appeared in it a dried head of a bear, with grinning teeth. I asked him what that meant? He answered me that he fastened it upon his left shoulder by the side of his head, and that then he was the devil, who cared for nothing, and did not fear any thing.

The government among them consists of the oldest, the most sensible, the best-speaking and most warlike men. These commonly resolve, and then the young and warlike Men execute. But if the common people do not approve of the resolution, it is left entirely to the determination of the mob. The chiefs are generally the poorest among them, for instead of their receiving from the common people as among Christians, they are obliged to give to the mob; especially when any one is killed in war, they give great presents to the next of kin of the deceased; and if they take any prisoners they present them to that family of which one has been killed, and the prisoner is then adopted by the family into the place of the deceased person. There is no punishment here for murder and other villainies, but every one is his own avenger. The friends of the deceased revenge themselves upon the murderer until peace is made by presents to the next of kin. But although they are so cruel, and live without laws or any punishments for evil doers, yet there are not half so many villainies or murders committed amongst them as amongst Christians; so that I oftentimes think with astonishment upon all the murders committed in the fatherland, notwithstanding their severe laws and heavy penalties. These Indians, though they live without laws, or fear of punishment, do not—at least, they very seldom—kill people, unless it may be in a great passion, or a hand-to-hand fight. Wherefore we go wholly unconcerned along with the Indians and meet each other an hour's walk off in the woods, without doing any harm to one another.

JOHANNES MEGAPOLENSIS.

III.

THE JOGUES PAPERS

TRANSLATED AND ARRANGED, WITH A MEMOIR

BY

JOHN GILMARY SHEA,

MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The following papers, written by the illustrious missionary between the years 1642 and 1646, consist of,

I. Narrative of his Captivity among the Mohawks, from a Latin manuscript preserved at Montreal, and in Alegambe.

II. Account of his Escape, from the Relation of 1642–3, p. 284.

III. Description of New Netherland, from his original manuscript.

IV. His last Letters in 1646, from the Relation of 1646–7.

V. Captivity and Death of René Goupil, from his original manuscript.

VI. Letters of Gov. Kieft announcing his death, from an attested copy preserved at Montreal.

The narrative of his captivity forms part of a manuscript volume, entitled "Memoires touchant la mort et les vertus des peres Isaac Jogues, Anne de Noue, Antoine Daniel, Jean de Brebeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Charles Garnier, Noel Chabanel et René Goupil," consisting of authentic papers relating to their life and death, being copied from originals, and each sworn to by Fathers Paul Ragueneau and Joseph Poncet; as to Father Jogues, it includes Father Buteux's "Narré de la prise du p. Isaac Jogues," Jogues' own narrative, his account of the captivity and death of Goupil, and letters of Fathers Buteux and De Quen relative to his death. It was found, accompanied by the Description of New Netherland, and the account of Goupil's death, in the handwriting of Father Jogues himself, both in letter form, with the folds and incisions for sealing in use at the time, and both more easily read than the court-hand of the volume. They were found in the Hospital of the Augustin nuns, or Hotel Dieu, at Quebec, where they had been deposited shortly before 1800 by Father Cazot, the last of the old race of the Jesuits of the French colony, who seeing his body then about to expire by the enactments of the English conquerors, which prevented their receiving new members, wished to save for Catholicity at least a few of the most valuable of the papers in the archives. The

volume in question, and some others, were selected by him, and faithfully preserved by the ladies to whom he intrusted them, as a sacred deposit, and were by them restored to the Jesuits soon after their return to Canada a few years since.

The use of these manuscripts has been kindly afforded by the Rev. Felix Martin, President of St. Mary's College, Montreal, Corresponding Member of the Society.

MEMOIR.

Isaac Jogues was born at Orleans, in France, on the tenth of January, 1607, and his family still enjoys the esteem of his native city. Educated in a Jesuit college but lately opened there, his tender piety, his wonderful love of the Cross, or, in less ascetic language, of sufferings, and a desire of pouring out his blood in attempting to convert the heathen to the Faith of Christ, induced him, towards the close of his studies, to ask to be enrolled among the members of the celebrated Society which had directed his education. Admitted to the Rouen novitiate in 1624, he was sent, after the two years of seclusion and prayer which usher in the religious life, to Paris to continue his literary studies. In 1629, he began his career as a teacher, and for four years attracted universal admiration by his able scholarship and ability in the direction of youth. The following letter in its latinity would do credit to a scholar writing in the quiet of his study; and other monuments are extant to show how easily he might have grasped at literary fame. He sighed, however, for the missions; and it was with joy that he received a summons to repair to the Clermont College, at Paris, to prepare, by the study of divinity, for the order of priesthood, which would enable him to set out for that field which he had ever ardently desired.

In 1636, after four years' study, he was ordained priest, and ordered to prepare for immediate embarkation to Canada, to which, when all chance of the European mission was cut off, his longings had been turned. After bidding farewell to his mother and family, he set sail from Dieppe with Father Garnier and Father Chatelain, and after a stormy voyage reached Miscou, a little island at the entrance of Chaleurs Bay, where the Jesuits then had a missionary station. Here he landed; but after a short stay proceeded to Quebec, and arrived in the city on the 2d of July: his two companions

had already started for the Huron mission—a long and painful voyage by the Ottawa river. He followed, embarking in his frail canoe at Three Rivers, on the 24th of August. "It would not be easy," says he, in a letter to his mother, "to detail all the miseries of the voyage; but the love of God, who calls us to these missions, and our desire of contributing something to the conversion of these poor savages, renders this so sweet, that we would not exchange these pains for all the joys of earth. Our food on the way is a little Indian corn, pounded between two stones, and boiled in water without any seasoning; our bed the earth, or the frightful rocks, lining the great river, which rolled by us in the clear moonlight, for we always slept in the open air. The posture to be taken in the canoe is extremely inconvenient; you cannot stretch out your legs, so little and cramped is it: scarcely do you venture to move, for fear of capsizing all into the river. I was forced to keep perfect silence, being able neither to understand nor make myself understood by my Indians. Another source of pain and hardship is, that in this voyage we meet sixty or eighty cataracts, or waterfalls, which descend so precipitously, and from such a height, that the canoes are often ingulfed by approaching too near them. We indeed were not exposed to this, as we went against the current; but we were not the less obliged to land very frequently, and make through the neighboring rocks and wood a *detour* of a league or more, loaded with our baggage, and with even our canoe. As for me, I not only carried my little bundle, but I also helped our Indians and relieved them as much as I could, till at last a boy some ten or twelve years old, belonging to our party, fell sick: then I was forced to carry him on my shoulders in the marches occasioned by the falls, of which I have spoken." This and the heavy burdens which he afterwards had to carry broke him down, so that soon after his arrival at the mission of St. Joseph's, at Ihonatiria, he was prostrated by a dangerous malady. Destitute of every suitable remedy, of food, and even of care, as his fellow-missioners, one by one, were prostrated around, he trusted to Providence alone, and soon recovered. He was immediately initiated into a missionary life by Father Brebeuf, and spent the winter in hurrying from town to town to visit the victims of a pestilence then raging throughout the country. Like all the missionaries, he had to contest every inch of ground with the medicine men, who saw in the new apostles the destroyers of their influence. The study of the language engaged his leisure hours; and when the violence of the epidemic abated, he daily visited

a number of cabins to learn the practice, then returned to listen to the theory of the Huron language explained by its first master, Brebeuf. After passing unscathed through the terrible persecution and imminent danger to which the missionaries were exposed when the plague broke out anew a year later, and almost depeopled the land, Father Jogues, with the rest of the missionaries, removed to Teananstayae, the second St. Joseph's, (the first missionary station, Ihonatiria, having dwindled to a few cabins.) We find him next, with Garnier, carrying the Cross to the Petuns, who had imbibed such prejudice against them, that the town Ehwaa, unmindful of Indian hospitality, closed its doors against them in the depth of winter, and compelled the missionaries to depart from their ungrateful cabins. Never again had it a season of mercy; the next year it was a heap of ruins, destroyed by famine, pestilence, and war.

On his return from this painful mission, Father Jogues was stationed at the permanent residence which, under the name of St. Mary's, had risen on the banks of the river Wye. As in old convents, a hospice stood hard by, where the wayfarer might enter in, and where neophytes came from the most distant villages to receive, away from the noise of their towns, full and particular instruction in the truths of Christianity. From this seminary issued many of the ablest and most fervent Catechists of the Huron Church. Father Jogues was not, however, to remain here long: the Jesuit, like the soldier, is ever liable to receive orders for a distant march. In the summer of 1641, the neighboring nations had gathered in the Huron country to witness the games, the dances and the alternately joyful and lugubrious ceremonies of the Feast of the Dead. Among the rest, came the Pauoitigoueieuhak, from the rapid outlet of Lake Superior. Charmed with the conduct of the missionaries, they invited them to their lodges, and Father Raymbault was chosen to visit them from his skill in Algonquin; Father Jogues was assigned to him as a companion, and they launched their bark in September on the Fresh-Water Sea; and, wandering amid its maze of isles, hallowed to the Indian's mind, in seventeen days reached the Sault de Gaston, which henceforth assumes in the mission annals the name we still give it—Sault St. Mary's. Here, where the adventurous Nicolet had penetrated a few years before, Jogues and Raymbault planted the Cross turned to the South, where a great river was said to stretch away to a vast lake, passing by the villages of countless tribes. Two thousand Indians assembled round the Cross, and listened with attention to

the words of truth; they earnestly pressed the missionaries to winter with them; but the Huron land reclaimed them, and they returned to their labors there.

While the missionaries were thus extending their spiritual conquests on every side, they were personally reduced to a state of most frightful poverty; their clothes were in shreds, their little stock of flour for hosts, was all but expended; for wine, they pressed the wild grape of the forest, but even then they had not chalices and vestments enough for the various missions. The want of the mere comforts of life had no weight with them, but now they needed what could not be foregone; and though the Iroquois, who had for some time back prevented all intercourse with Quebec, still waylaid the passage, a Father must be sent: the Superior stated to Jogues his wish that he should go; he had already asked of heaven an occasion of suffering; his prayer was heard; he bowed his head and departed.

The following letters (i.–iv.) will detail his subsequent history, and give us, in his own words, the sufferings of this refined scholar and poet, yet no less humble and zealous missionary.

The sequel of his career after his captivity can be shortly told. He left New York in a small bark on the 5th of November, and after much hardship, put into Falmouth, in England, having almost fallen into the hands of a Parliament cruiser. Here their bark was entered by robbers, and F. Jogues stripped of his hat and coat. Having seen a French collier, he went up to him, and though at first taken for a beggar, made known his real character, and obtained passage to the French coast, which he reached, between Brest and St. Pol de Leon on Christmas Day, early enough to satisfy his devotion by receiving communion, of which he had so long been deprived.

A good merchant took him to Rennes: unknown, he presented himself at the college of his order as one who brought news from Canada. The Rector, who was preparing to say Mass, hurried to see the stranger as soon as he heard the word Canada. Almost his first question was as to Father Jogues. "Do you know him?" "I know him well," said the other. "We have heard of his capture by the Iroquois, and his horrible sufferings. What has become of him? Is he still alive?" "He is alive," said F. Jogues; "he is free, he is now speaking to you!"—and he cast himself at the feet of his astonished Superior to ask his blessing.

Once known, honors met him on every side; objects belonging

to him were eagerly sought as relics; the Queen Regent even requested that he should come to Paris, that she might see so illustrious a sufferer. All this was painful to him, and it was not till three times summoned that he proceeded to the capital. He longed to return to Canada; but one thing prevented his departure. The mangled hands which had been reverently kissed by the Queen and Court of France, were an obstacle to his celebrating the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar. A dispensation was needed. Urban VIII. then sat in the See of Peter—a Pope noted especially for the stringent rules which he introduced against any symptom of public veneration to the departed servants of God until their life and virtues had been sifted and examined in the long and minute legal proceedings for canonization. Yet when the application of Father Jogues was presented, and he had learned the story of his sufferings, he forgot his own laws, and exclaimed, as he granted it, "Indignum esse Christi martyrem Christi non bibere sanguinem."

Nothing now detained the missionary in France; and early in the spring of 1644 he was again in Canada. The colony was on the brink of ruin; but the Governor fortunately brought the Mohawks to offer peace. It was concluded at Three Rivers on the 12th of July, 1645. Father Jogues, though stationed at Montreal, was present, and an anxious observer of the state of feeling. The treaty was at last confirmed on the Mohawk, and again renewed on the St. Lawrence, with a request for a missionary.

Conscious that he would be selected, Father Jogues announced to his friends his perilous mission, (v.;) and in April, 1646, readily accepted it when offered by his Superior, (vi.)

Though a mission was resolved upon, it was thought better that he should go first as ambassador, and was accordingly sent with Mr. Bourdon, an officer in the employ of the colony.* Of his embassy, the missionary drew up a full account, which was in existence till 1800, when it was, with other papers belonging to the Canada Jesuits, seized by the British Government. It has now disappeared. The "Relation," which doubtless followed it, says that they left Three

* As the missionary was about to set out, an Algonquin chief advised him to lay aside his religious habit. His reason was striking: it exemplifies perfectly what has been called "the hideous face of Christianity." "There is nothing," said the Algonquin chiefs, "nothing more repulsive at first than this doctrine, that seems to exterminate all that men hold dearest. Your long gown preaches it as strongly as your lips: leave it, and go in a short coat."

Rivers on the 16th of May, 1646, with four Mohawks and two Algonquins. Ascending the Sorel, they traversed Lake Champlain, and on the 29th of May reached the beautiful lake below it. Its Iroquois name was Andiatarocte: for Europeans it was without a name, but as it was the eve of Corpus Christi, the festival instituted by the Church to honor Christ's presence in the Holy Sacrament, the missionary gave it the name, which it bore for more than a century—Lake Saint Sacrament.*

Continuing their march, they came to Ossaragué, a fishing station on the Maurice, or Upper Hudson, which they descended to Fort Orange. When the missionary had here repaid his debt of gratitude to his generous benefactors, the embassy proceeded to the Mohawk. The first castle was reached on the 7th of June, its name had been changed from Ossernenon to Oneougoure. Here Jogues was welcomed as a friend: a council of Sachems was soon convened, and he delivered the presents of the Governor, and in a discourse, still preserved, urged them to thoughts of peace. He was heard with attention, and responded to in a similar strain. According to Indian custom, he presented a belt of wampum to the tribe into which he had been incorporated. The Wolf replied that Ondessonk should ever find among them his mat to rest upon, and a fire to warm him.

Another present was yet to be made. Jogues had remarked among the spectators some Onondaga braves, and to these also he made a present, to smooth the way for the French to their land of lakes. This was cheerfully accepted; and Jogues, no longer a temporal envoy, turned to his spiritual avocations. The captive Christians were soon visited and consoled, the sacraments of baptism or penance conferred on many; but he could not delay as long as his zeal desired. The Iroquois pressed his departure, and on the 16th he left their castles for the St. Lawrence. As he expected to return speedily, he left a box containing his little missionary furniture: they showed a disinclination to keep it, but as he opened it in their presence he thought their suspicions dispelled, and went his way.

On his arrival in Canada, joy, such as had not been known for years, quickened every heart, for all had been so suspicious of the Mohawks, that public prayers had been constantly offered for the missionary and his companion.

His immediate return to the Mohawk was now expected; but

* It would need but a slight change to make Lake George, Lake Jogues, and surely its great discoverer deserves it better than a Hanoverian king.

suddenly there came mysterious rumors, and the Superiors paused. Jogues must not go.* But as the summer wore on all became quiet, and, yielding to his entreaty, the Superior permitted him to depart. In September, 1646, he left Three Rivers for the last time with Lalande, a worthy successor of Goupil, and some Hurons. As they advanced, they heard tidings which seemed positive as to the end of the peace: some Hurons left them, but Jogues went fearlessly on. After the return of these, the French were left in the greatest anxiety and uncertainty as to his fate. Months rolled by, and no tidings reached them: at last, almost at the same time, they heard from some Hurons, who had escaped from the Mohawk, an account of his death, and received letters from Governor Kieft which confirmed it.

The Indian account, as preserved in the manuscript of Father Buteux and Father De Quen, is, that when the missionary was within two days' march of the castles, that is, half way between Lake George and the Mohawk, he was met by a war party out against the French. The missionary and his companion were immediately seized, and in spite of his remonstrances stripped and beaten: they then turned homeward, and Father Jogues was again led naked into Gandawagué,† the place of his former captivity. Blows were mingled with threats of death on the morrow. "You shall not be burned," they cried; "you shall die beneath our hatchets, and your heads shall be fixed on our palisades, to show your brethren whom we take." In vain did he endeavor to show them the injustice of treating him as an enemy, when he came the messenger of peace: deaf to the voice of reason, and blinded by superstition, they began their butchery. Slicing off the flesh from his arms and back, they cried, "Let us see whether this white flesh is the flesh of an Otkon." "I am but a man like yourselves," replied the dauntless missionary, "though I fear not

* Decision in the Superior's journal.

† Thus do all the French Relations from this time name the place of his death: it is the same as Caughawaga, and means "at the rapids." Father Poncet, in the narrative of his captivity on the Mohawk, makes the place of Goupil's death that of Jogues' also, to be the second village, the Andagoron, or Gandagoron, of Father Jogues. The present Caughnawaga may therefore be considered the place of the missionary's death, as we have nothing to show that the village in question lay south of the Mohawk, although the first village did. Caughnawaga became, too, in the sequel, the centre of the most successful Catholic mission among the Iroquois, and is hallowed, not only by the deaths of Jogues and Goupil, but by the birth of the sainted Catharine Tehgakwita. It is our holy ground.

death, nor your tortures. You do wrong to kill me. I have come to your country to preserve peace and strengthen the land, and to show you the way to heaven, and you treat me like a dog! Fear the chastisement of Him who rules both the Indian and the French!"

In spite of their threats his fate was undecided. Of the three great families in each tribe, the Bear was clamorous for blood, while the Tortoise and his own, the Wolf, declared that he should live. A council was called in the largest town: it was there decided that he should be spared; but it was too late.

Towards evening, on the day after his arrival, some Indians of the Bear family came to invite him to supper; he rose to follow, but scarce had he stooped to enter the lodge, when an Indian, concealed within, sprang forward, and dealt him a terrible blow with his hatchet. Kiotsaeton, the deputy, who had concluded the peace, threw up his arm to avert the blow, but it cut through his arm, and sank deep in the head of the missionary. His head was then cut off, and set on the palisade. His companion shared his fate.

On the 5th of June, 1647, the day after the reception of the letters from the Dutch authorities (viii. ix.), a solemn Mass of the Dead was offered up at Quebec; but "we could not," says Ragueneau, "bring ourselves to offer for him the prayers of the dead. We offered the adorable sacrifice, but in thanksgiving for the favors which he had received from God. Laity and religious share our sentiments on this happy death, and more were found inclined to invoke his aid than to pray for his repose."

The Catholic clergy of our State may well be proud of so illustrious a founder, for he was the first priest who entered or labored in the city and State of New York.

His sufferings and toils now find a place in every history of our country; but we must not consider him as a mere explorer of the wilderness, borne up perhaps by religious enthusiasm. He was a man of deep and tender piety, of extraordinary candor and openness of soul, timid by nature, yet of tried courage and heroic firmness; a man who saw all in God, and in all resigned himself to the directing hand of Providence. To make God known at the expense of personal suffering was his only thought. In a word, he was one of those superior men who rise from time to time in the Church, so distinguished from all around by an impress of sanctity, by a prestige of all Christian virtue, as to make us look without astonishment on even miraculous powers in their hands.

NARRATIVE

OF THE CAPTIVITY OF FATHER ISAAC JOGUES, OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, AMONG THE MOHAWKS, IN 1642 AND 1643.

REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,

THE PEACE OF CHRIST:

WISHING to write to your Reverence, I at first hesitated in what language to do so, for after so long a disuse, almost equally forgetful of both, I found equal difficulty in either. Two reasons, however, induced me to write in the less common idiom. I shall be better enabled to employ the words of Holy Scripture which have at all times been my greatest consolation, "amid the tribulations which have found us exceedingly," (Ps. xlv. 2;) I also wished this letter less easily understood.

The exceeding charity of your Reverence, which in other days overlooked my manifold trangressions, will excuse me if, after eight years' intercourse and residence with savages, nay, a savage now in form and dress myself, aught be here wanting in correctness or decorum. I fear still more, that, rude in language, I may be more so in knowledge, "nor know the time of my visitation," (Luke xix. 44,) nor remember the character imposed on me by God, of preacher of his Gospel, Jesuit and Priest. This induced me to write to you, that if this letter should ever reach your hands, I may, though living here in this hard land amid Iroquois and Maaquas, be helped by your masses and the prayers of your whole province. This aid, I trust, will be more earnestly given, when from a perusal of this letter* you shall have

* This letter is adddressed to the Provincial of the Jesuits at Paris. The original in its classic Latin has been printed by Alegambe, in his "Mortes illustres," Rome, 1657; and by Tanner in his "Societas militans," Prague, 1675.

seen both how much I am indebted to the Almighty, and in what need I am of the prayers of the pious, in which, I am aware, I have a powerful shield.

We sailed from the Hurons on the 13th of June, 1642, in four small boats, here called canoes; we were twenty-three in all, five of us being French.* The line of travel is in itself most difficult for many reasons, and especially because in no less than forty places both canoes and baggage must be carried by land on the shoulders. It was, moreover, now full of dangers, from fear of the enemy, who every year, by lying in wait on the roads to the French settlements, carry off many as prisoners; in fact, Father John de Brebeuf had been all but taken the year before. Besides this, they not long previous had carried off two Frenchmen, but afterwards brought them back to their countrymen unharmed, demanding peace on most unjust terms, and then conducted themselves in a very hostile manner, so that they were driven off by our cannons. On this they declared, that if they took another Frenchman prisoner, they would torture him cruelly, like their other captives, and then burn him alive at the stake.

The Superior, conscious of the dangers to which I was exposed on this journey, (one, however, absolutely necessary for God's glory,) assigned the task to me in such a way as to leave me at liberty to decline it if I chose. "I did not," however, "resist, I did not go back," (Isaias l.,) but willingly and cheerfully accepted this mission imposed upon me by obedience and charity. Had I declined it, it would have fallen to another, far more worthy than myself.

Having therefore loosed from St. Mary's of the Hurons, amid ever-varying fears of the enemy, dangers of every kind, losses by land and water, we at last, on the thirtieth day

A sworn copy of the autograph letter is preserved at Montreal, examined and attested in 1652 by Father Poncet, whose sufferings and captivity the next year were but a copy of those of Jogues and Bressani, who had preceded him to the Mohawk. There is also another narrative of F. Jogues' captivity, extorted from him by Father Buteux, when his superior, which is more full in some respects. This narrative was translated into Italian by Bressani in his work "Breve Relatione," into German in the edition of Tanner in that language, and part of it into French in the "Relation" of 1647; but, though written at the capital of the State of New York, has never till now appeared in English.

* The place from which they departed was the Mission-house of St. Mary's, on a little river now called the Wye. Traces still exist to mark the site of this cradle of European colonization in Upper Canada. It was at first at some distance from any Huron town, but some years after this date, on the ruin of the frontier towns, a village was grouped around it.

after our departure, reached in safety the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. This is a French settlement or colony, called Three Rivers, from a most charming stream which just there empties by three mouths into the great River St. Lawrence.* We returned hearty thanks to God, and remained here and at Quebec about two weeks.

Having transacted the business which had brought us down, we celebrated the feast of our holy father, Ignatius; and on the second of August were once more on our way for Huronia. The second day after our departure had just dawned when, by the early light, some of our party discovered fresh foot-prints on the shore. While some were maintaining that they were the trail of a hostile, others that of a friendly party, Eustace Ahatsistari, to whom for his gallant feats of arms all yielded the first rank, exclaimed, "Brothers! be they the bravest of the foe, for such I judge them by their trail, they are not more than three canoes, and we number enough not to dread such a handful of the enemy." We were, in fact, forty, for some others had joined us.

We consequently urged on our way, but had scarcely advanced a mile when we fell into an ambush of the enemy, who lay in two divisions on the opposite banks of the river, to the number of seventy in twelve canoes. As soon as we reached the spot where they lay in ambush, lurking in the reeds and tall grass, they poured in a volley of musketry, for they were well supplied with arms, riddling our canoes, but killing none: one Huron only was shot through the hand.† At the first report of the fire-arms, the Hurons, almost to a man, abandoned the canoes, which, to avoid the more rapid current of the centre of the river, were advancing close by the bank, and, in headlong flight, plunged into the thickest of the woods. We, the four Frenchmen, thus left with a few either already Christians, or at least Catechumens, offering up a prayer to Christ, faced the enemy.

* The Algonquin name was Metaberoutse. It had been, prior to their expulsion from Canada, the site of an Iroquois town. Rel. 1634; Perrot MS.

† Father Jogues omits a fact worth mentioning. The pilot of his canoe was unbaptized, though instructed. Regardless of the balls whizzing around, he bade him kneel, and, bending down, took up a handful of water and baptized him. This Indian, Bernard Atieronhonk, afterwards escaped, and was ceaseless in his praise of the Missionary. "Ondesonk," he would exclaim, "forgot self at the sight of danger; he thought only of me and my salvation; he feared not to lose his own life, but feared lest I should be lost forever."

We were, however, outnumbered, being scarcely twelve or fourteen against thirty; yet we fought on till our comrades, seeing fresh canoes shoot out from the opposite bank of the river, lost heart and fled. Then a Frenchman named René Goupil, who was fighting with the bravest, was taken, together with some of the Hurons. When I saw this, I neither could nor cared to fly. Whither, indeed, could I escape, barefooted as I was?* Conceal myself amid the reeds and tall grass I could indeed, and thus, perhaps, escape; but could I leave a countryman and the unchristened Hurons, already taken, or soon to be? As the enemy, in hot pursuit of the fugitives, had passed on, leaving me standing on the battle-field, I called out to one of those who had remained to guard the prisoners, and bade him place me beside his French captive, that as I had been his companion on the way, so would I be in his dangers and death. Scarce crediting what he heard, and fearful for himself, he advanced and led me to the other prisoners.

"Dearest brother," I then exclaimed, "wonderfully hath God dealt with us; 'but he is the Lord, let him do what is good in his sight,' (1 Kings, iii. 18;) as it hath pleased him, so hath it come to pass, blessed be his name." Then, hearing his confession, I gave him absolution. I now turned to the Huron prisoners, and instructing them one by one, baptized them. As new prisoners were constantly taken in their flight, my labor was constantly renewed. At length, Eustace Ahasistari, that famous Christian chief, was brought in: when he saw me, he exclaimed, "Solemnly, indeed, did I swear, brother, that I would live or die by thee." What answer I made I know not, so much had grief overcome me. Last of all, William Couture was dragged in: he, too, had set out from Huronia with me. When he saw all routed, he had, with the rest, taken to the woods, and being a young man, as gifted in body as in mind, had by his agility left the enemy far behind; but when he looked around and could see nothing of me,—"Shall I," said he to himself, "abandon my dear Father a prisoner in the hands of the savages, and fly without him?—not I." Then, returning by the path which he had taken in flight, he gave himself up to the enemy. Would that he had fled,

* To keep their canoes free from sand and gravel, the Indians required all to enter them barefoot. Few even of the missionaries were exempted from this rule.

nor swelled our mournful band!—for, in such a case, it is no comfort to have companions, especially those whom you love as yourself. Yet such are the souls who, though but laymen, serve God and the society among the Hurons, with no views of earthly reward.* It is painful to think even of all his terrible sufferings. Their hate was enkindled against all the French, but especially against him, as they knew that one of their bravest had fallen by his hand in the fight. He was accordingly first stripped naked, all his nails torn out, his very fingers gnawed, and a broad sword driven through his right hand. Mindful of the wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, this pain, though most acute, he bore, as he afterwards told me, with great joy.

When I beheld him thus bound and naked, I could not contain myself, but, leaving my keepers, rushed through the midst of the savages who had brought him, embraced him most tenderly; exhorted him to offer all this to God for himself, and those at whose hands he suffered. They at first looked on, in wonder, at my proceeding; then, as if recollecting themselves, and gathering all their rage, they fell upon me, and with their fists, thongs and clubs beat me till I fell senseless. Two of them then dragged me back to where I had been before; and scarcely had I begun to breathe, when some others, attacking me, tore out, by biting, almost all my nails, and crunched my two fore-fiugers with their teeth, giving me intense pain. The same was done to René Goupil, the Huron captives being left untouched.

When all had come in from the pursuit, in which two Hurons were killed, they carried us across the river, and there shared the plunder of the twelve canoes (for eight had joined us). This was very great; for, independent of what each Frenchman had with him, we had twenty packages, containing Church plate and vestments, books and other articles of the kind—a rich cargo, indeed, considering the poverty of our Huron mission. While they were dividing the plunder, I completed the instruction of such as were unchristened and baptized them. Among the rest, was one

* Goupil and Couture were what are called in the old French writers, *Donnés*, that is, *men given*: they were not religious of the order to which they attached themselves, but laymen, who, from motives of zeal, gave themselves to the missionaries, to be employed as they saw fit. There probably never was a set of more humble and heroic men than the Donnés of the early Catholic missions.

sere octogenarian warrior, who, when ordered to enter the canoe to be borne off with the rest, exclaimed, "What! shall I, a hoary old man, go to a strange and foreign land? Never! here will I die," and there he died, for absolutely refusing to go, they slew him on the very spot, where he had just been baptized.

Raising then a joyful shout, which made the forest ring, "as conquerors who rejoice after taking a prey," [Isaiah ix. 3,] they bore us off, as captives towards their own land. We were twenty-two, three had been killed. By the favor of God our sufferings on that march, which lasted thirteen days,* were indeed great; hunger and heat and menaces, the savage fury of the Indians, the intense pain of our untended and now putrifying wounds, which actually swarmed with worms. No trial, however, came harder upon me than to see them five or six days after approach us jaded with the march, and, in cold blood, with minds in nowise excited by passion, pluck out our hair and beard and drive their nails, which are always very sharp, deep into parts most tender and sensitive to the slightest impression. But this was outward; my internal sufferings affected me still more, when I beheld that funereal procession of doomed Christians pass before my eyes, among them five old converts, the main pillars of the infant Huron Church.† Indeed I ingenuously admit that I was again and again unable to withhold my tears, mourning over their lot and that of my other companions, and full of anxious solicitude for the future. For I beheld the way to the Christian faith closed by these Iroquois on the Hurons and countless other nations, unless they were checked by some seasonable dispensation of Divine Providence.

On the eighth day we fell in with a troop of 200‡ Indians

* Every copy of this letter printed in Latin or other languages, till the discovery of the manuscript at Montreal, has here 38 days, although the context shows the error. Taken the 2d, they reached the Castles on the 15th, leaving just 13 days as the manuscript actually has. The Relation of 1647, Bressani, in his work in 1653, as well as Alegambe and Tanner, have the erroneous number.

† The progress of the missionaries among the Hurons was at first extremely slow; three years elapsed after their return before a single adult was baptized, and indeed the conversion of Ahasistari, just before the date of this narrative, was the first impulse given. On his example and influence the missionaries had built many fond hopes, and Jogues might well grieve to see them blasted. The conversions of the Huron in any considerable number took place only when the nation was on the brink of ruin. See Bressani, Breve Rel.

‡ Charlevoix, probably by a misprint, says 700. The place was an island in Lake Champlain. See account of René Goupil.

going out to fight; and as it is the custom for savages when out on war parties to initiate themselves, as it were, by cruelty, under the belief that their success will be greater as they shall have been more cruel, they thus received us. First rendering thanks to the Sun, which they imagine presides over war, they congratulated their countrymen by a joyful volley of musketry. Each then cut some stout clubs in the neighboring wood in order to receive us. After we had landed from the canoes they fell upon us from both sides with their clubs in such fury, that I, who was the last and therefore most exposed to their blows, sank overcome by their number and severity, before I had accomplished half the rocky way that led to the hill on which a stage had been erected for us. I thought I should soon die there; and so, partly because I could not, partly because I cared not, I did not arise. How long they spent their fury on me He knows, for whose love and sake it is delightful and glorious thus to suffer. Moved at length by a cruel mercy, and wishing to carry me to their country alive, they ceased to strike. And thus half dead and drenched in blood, they bore me to the scaffold. Here I had scarce begun to breathe when they ordered me to come down to load me with scoffs and insults, and countless blows on my head and shoulders, and indeed on my whole body. I should be tedious were I to attempt to tell all that the French prisoners suffered. They burnt one of my fingers, and crunched another with their teeth; others already thus mangled they so wrenched by the tattered nerves, that even now, though healed, they are frightfully deformed. Nor indeed was the lot of my fellow-sufferers much better.

But one thing showed that God watched over us, and was rather trying than cutting us off. One of these savages, breathing naught but blood and cruelty, came up to me, scarce able to stand on my feet, and, seizing my nose with one hand, prepared to cut it off with a large knife which he held in the other. What could I do? Believing that I was soon to be burnt at the stake, unmoved, I awaited the stroke, groaning to my God in heart, when, as if stayed by a supernatural power, he drew back his hand in the very act of cutting. About a quarter of an hour after he returned, and, as it were, condemning his cowardice and faintheartedness, again prepared to do it; when again held back by some similar unseen hand he departed. Had he carried out his

design my fate was sealed, for it is not their custom to grant life to captives thus mutilated.

My sufferings were great in themselves, heightened by the sight of what a like cruelty had wreaked on the Christian Hurons, fiercer than all in the case of Eustace; for they had cut off both his thumbs,* and through the stump of the left one they, with savage cruelty, drove a pointed stake up to his very elbow. This frightful pain he bore most nobly and piously.

The following day we fell in with some other war canoes, who cut off some of our companions' fingers to our great dread.

On the tenth day about noon, we left our canoes, and performed on foot the rest of the journey, which lasted four days. Besides the usual hardships of the march came that of carrying the baggage; hunger, too, was ever increased by the ever increasing want of food, so much so that for three days we ate nothing but some berries once gathered on the way.†

[Aug. 15th.] At last, on the eve of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, we reached the first village of the Iroquois. I thank our Lord Jesus Christ that on the day when the whole Christian world exults in the glory of His Mother's Assumption into heaven, he called us to some small share and fellowship of his sufferings and cross. Indeed we had, during the journey, always foreseen that it would be a sad and bitter day for us. It would have been easy for René and me to escape that day and the flames, for being often unbound and at a distance from our guards, we might, in the darkness of night, have struck off from the road, and even though we should never reach our countrymen, we would at least meet a less cruel death in the woods. He constantly refused to do this, and I was resolved to suffer all that could befall me, rather than forsake in death Frenchmen and Christian Hurons, depriving them of the consolation which a priest can afford.

On the eve of Assumption, then, about three o'clock, we

* This practice of cutting off fingers so constant with the Iroquois was, before firearms were known, a matter of policy, to unfit their prisoners from handling the bow. Sagard, 461.

† The text in Alegambe, and others, has here some details which I omit, as they are not in the manuscript. One of these describes the Indian custom of taking warm water to check the pangs of hunger.

reached a river, which flows by their village [Ossernenon]. Both banks were filled with Iroquois, who received us with clubs, fists and stones. As a bald or thinly covered head is an object of aversion to them, this tempest burst in its fury on my bare head.* Two of my nails had hitherto escaped, these they tore out with their teeth and with their keen nails stripped off the flesh beneath to the very bones. When satisfied with the cruelty and mockeries which we thus received by the river side, they led us to their village on the top of the hill. At its entrance we met the youth of all that district, awaiting us in a line on each side of the road, all armed with clubs. Conscious that if we withdrew ourselves from the ranks of those chastised, we no less withdrew ourselves from those of the children, we cheerfully offered ourselves to our God, thus like a father chastising us, that in us "he might be well pleased." Our order was as follows: in the front of the line they placed a Frenchman, alas! entirely naked, not having even his drawers; René Goupil was in the centre, and I, last of all, closed the line.

The Iroquois scattered themselves through the line between us and the Hurons, to check our speed and afford more time and ease to our torturers to strike us thus separately as we passed. Long and cruelly indeed "did the wicked work upon my back," [Psalms, cxxviii. 3,] not with clubs merely, but even with iron rods, which they have in abundance, from their proximity to the Europeans; one of the foremost, armed with an iron ball of the size of a fist, slung to a thong, dealt me so violent a blow that I should have fallen senseless, had not fear of a second given me strength and courage. Running then our long race amid this fearful hail of blows, we with difficulty reached the stage erected in the centre of the village.

If each here presented a face to excite compassion, René's was certainly the most pitiable. Being by no means quick or active he had received so many blows all over his body, but especially in the face, that nothing could be distinguished there but the white of his eyes; more beautiful, indeed, as he more resembled Him, whom we have beheld 'as a leper and smitten by God for us,' "in whom there was no comeliness or beauty." [Isaias liii. 2.]

We had but just time to draw breath on this stage when

* Not in MSS.

one, with a huge club, gave us Frenchmen three terrible blows on the bare back; the savages now took out their knives and began to mount the stage, and cut off the fingers of many of the prisoners, and as a captive meets with cruelty proportioned to his dignity they began with me, as my manner of acting showed me to be in authority among the French and Hurons. Accordingly an old man and a woman* approached the spot where I stood; and he commanded her to cut off my thumb; she at first drew back, but at last when the old wretch had three or four times repeated the order, as if by compulsion she cut off my left thumb where it joins the hand. Then taking in my other hand the amputated thumb, I offered it to thee, my true and living God, calling to mind the sacrifices which I had for seven years constantly offered Thee in thy Church.

At last warned by one of my comrades to desist, since they might otherwise force it into my mouth and compel me to eat it as it was, I flung it from me on the scaffold and left it I know not where. René had his right thumb cut off at the first joint. I must thank the Almighty that it was his will that my right should be untouched, thus enabling me to write this letter to beg my dear Fathers and brothers to offer up their masses, prayers, supplications and entreaties in the Holy Church of God, to which we feel ourselves now entitled by a new right, for she often prays for the afflicted and the captive.†

On the following day, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, after spending the morning on the stage, we were taken about mid-day to another village, [Andagoron,] about two miles distant from the first. As I was on the point of starting, the Indian who had brought me, loth to lose my shirt, sent me off with nothing but an old and tattered pair of drawers; when I beheld myself thus naked, "Surely, brother," said I, "thou wilt not send me off thus naked, thou hast taken enough of our property to enrich thee." This touched him, and he gave me enough of the hempen bagging, in which our packages had been put up, to cover my shoulders and part of my body. But my flesh, mangled

* In the printed text are here some words, stating her to have been a Christian Algonquin, named Jane, not long before taken by the Iroquois.

† Here ends the first part, written apparently apart from what follows; which is not in the attested copy in Canada. This we have hitherto followed, the rest we take as given by Tanner and Alegambe.

by their blows and stripes, could not bear this rough and coarse cloth. On the way, while scarcely and at last not at all covered by it, the heat of the sun was so intense, that my skin was dried, as though in an oven, and peeled off from my back and arms.

As we entered the second village blows were not spared, though this is contrary to their usual custom, which is to be content with making prisoners run the gauntlet once. The Almighty, doubtless, wished us to be somewhat likened in this point to his Apostle, who glories that he was thrice beaten with rods, and though they received us with fewer blows than the first, these were more cruelly given, being better aimed from there being less of a crowd, and some struck constantly on the shins to our exquisite pain.

The rest of the day we spent on the stage, and the night in a hut tied down half naked to the bare ground, at the mercy of all ages and sexes; for we had been handed over to the sport of the children and youth, who threw hot coals on our naked bodies, which, bound as we were, it was no easy matter to shake off. In this manner Indian children make their apprenticeship in cruelty, and from less grow accustomed to greater.

In this village we spent two days and nights, with scarcely any food or sleep, in great anguish of mind as far as I was concerned; for from time to time they mounted the stage, cutting off the fingers of my Huron companions, and binding their clenched hands in hard cords so tightly drawn that they fainted, and while each suffered but his own pain, I suffered that of all. I was afflicted with as intense grief as you can imagine a most loving father's heart to feel at the sight of his children's misery, for, with the exception of a few old Christians, I had begotten them all recently in Christ by baptism.

Yet amid all this the Lord gave me such strength, that suffering myself I was able to console the suffering Hurons and French; so that both on the road and on the stage, when the tormenting crowd of 'saluters'* had dropped away, I exhorted them, at one time together, at another individually, to preserve their patience and not lose confidence, which would have a great reward; to remember "that by many

* (So they call those who wreak their cruelty on captives brought in.) Note in the original.

tribulations it behoves us to enter into the kingdom of heaven;" that the time was come, indeed, foretold us by God, when he said: "Ye shall lament and weep, but the world shall rejoice, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy;" that we were like to "a woman who, when she is in travail, hath sorrow because her hour is come; but when she has brought forth, no longer remembers her anguish for joy that a man is born into the world;" [John xvi. 21;] so should they feel assured that in a few days these momentary pains would give place to never-ending joys. And surely I had reason to rejoice when I beheld them so well disposed, especially the older Christians, Joseph, Eustace and two others, for on the very day that we reached the first village, the fifth one, Theodore, had freed himself from his bonds, but as in the battle his shoulder had been broken by a blow of a musket, he died on his way to the French.

Never till now had the Indian scaffold beheld French or other Christian captives.* Hence, contrary to usual custom, we were led around through all their villages to gratify the general curiosity. The third indeed [Teonontogen] we entered scatheless, but on the scaffold a scene met my eyes more heart-rending than any torment; it was a group of four Hurons taken elsewhere by another party and dragged in to swell our wretched company. Among other cruelties, every one of these had lost some fingers, and the eldest of the band his two thumbs. As soon as I reached them, I began to instruct them separately on the articles of faith, then on the very stage itself I baptized two with rain-drops gathered from the leaves of a stalk of Indian corn given us to chew; the other two I baptized at a little stream which we passed when led to another village. At this place, cold setting in after the rain, we suffered extremely from it as we were entirely uncovered. Often shivering with cold on the stage, I would, unordered, come down and enter some hut but I could scarcely begin to warm myself when I was commanded to return to the scaffold.

William Couture had thus far lost none of his fingers; this excited the displeasure of an Indian in the village, and he sawed off half the forefinger of his right hand; the pain

* A Frenchman, Peter Magnan, had indeed been put to death as early as 1628 by the Mohawks to whom he went as ambassador. (Sagard, p. 483. Le Clerc, ch. ix.) But this was probably forgotten by them and unknown to F. Jogues. Margueriè and Godefroy, taken in 1640, were not tortured. Rel. 1640–1.

was more excruciating, as he employed not a knife, but a shell very common there. As it could not sever the sinews, which were hard and slippery, he wrenched the finger so violently that when the sinews gave way, the poor sufferer's arms swelled frightfully up to his very elbow. An Indian seeing it, was touched with compassion and took him to his hut where he kept him the two days which we spent in that village, leaving me in ignorance and great anxiety as to his fate. At nightfall we were taken to a hut, where the youth awaited us. Being ordered to sing as other captives do, we at last complied, for alas! what could we do; but we "sang the canticles of the Lord in a strange land." Torture followed the chanting, and its fury burst especially on René and myself, for the good savage still kept William in his hut. On me then, and especially on René, they threw hot ashes and live coals, by which he was severely burnt in the breast.

They next hung me between two poles in the hut, tied by the arms above the elbow, with coarse rope woven of the bark of trees.* Then I thought I was to be burnt, for this is one of their usual preliminaries; and that I might know, that I had thus far borne any thing with fortitude or even with patience, this came not from myself, but from Him who gives strength to the weary. Now as though left to myself in this torture I groaned aloud, for "I will glory in my infirmities that the power of Christ may dwell in me," [2 Cor. xii. 9,] and from my intense pain I begged my torturers to ease me some little from those hard rough ropes. But God justly ordained that the more I pleaded, the more they drew my bonds. At last, when I had been hanging thus about a quarter of an hour, they unloosed me, as I was on the point of fainting. I render thee thanks, O Lord Jesus, that I have been allowed to learn, by some slight experience, how much thou didst deign to suffer on the cross for me, when the weight of thy most holy body hung not by ropes, but by thy hands and feet pierced by hardest nails!

Other chains followed these, for we were tied to the ground to pass the rest of the night. What did they not then do to my poor Huron companions, thus tied hand and foot? What did they not attempt on me? But once

* Bressani was hung up in the same way and loaded with chains. This torture is not unlike that of the thumbscrew applied to the Jesuits in more civilized countries. See Jardine on the Use of Torture in England.

more I thank thee, O Lord, that thou didst save me, thy priest, ever unsullied from the impure hands of the savages.

When we had thus spent two days in that village, we were led back to the second [Andagoron] which we had entered, that our fate might be finally determined. We had now been for seven days led from village to village, from scaffold to scaffold, become a spectacle to God and to his angels, as we may hope from his divine goodness, a scoff and jeer to the vilest savages, when we were at last told that that day should end our lives amid the flames. Sooth to say, this last act was not without its horrors, yet the good pleasure of God, and the hope of a better life, where sin should have no place, rendered it rather one of joy. Addressing my French and Huron companions, for the last time, I bid them be of good heart, and amid their mental and bodily sufferings to think "diligently upon Him that had endured such opposition of sinners against himself; not to be weary, fainting in their minds," (Heb. xii. 3,) but to hope that the morrow would unite us to our God, to reign for ever.

Fearing lest we might be torn asunder, I especially advised Eustace to look towards me when we could not be together, and by laying his hand on his breast and raising his eyes to heaven, to show contrition for his sins, so that I could absolve him, as I had already frequently done after hearing his confession, as well on the way as after our arrival.* Acting on my advice, he several times made me the sign.

The sachems, however, on further deliberation resolved that no precipitate action was to be taken with regard to the French prisoners, and summoning us before the council they declared that our lives were spared. To almost all the Hurons they likewise granted life; three only were excepted, Paul, Eustace, and Stephen, who were put to death in the three villages which make up the tribe; Stephen in Andagoron, the village where we were; Paul in Ossernenon, and Eustace in Teonontogen. The last-named was burned in almost every part of his body, and then beheaded; he bore

* Owing to the sacramental grace of absolution, a Catholic will often seek it, when not conscious of any mortal sin which absolutely requires it: and thus renews his contrition for past, but forgiven sins, as an act pleasing to God and beneficial to himself.

all most piously, and while it is usual for dying captives to cry out,—

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."—Æn. iv. 625.

Rise from our scattered bones, avenger, rise!

he, on the contrary, in the Christian spirit which he had so deeply imbibed in baptism, implored his countrymen who stood around not to let any feelings for his fate prevent the conclusion of a peace with the Iroquois. Paul Ononhoraton, who, after the usual fiery ordeal, was tomahawked in the village of Ossernenon, was a young man of about twenty-five, full of life and courage; for such they generally put to death, to sap, as it were, the life-blood of the hostile tribe. With a noble contempt of death, arising, as he openly professed on the way, from his hope of a better life, this generous man had repeatedly, when the Iroquois came up to me to tear out my nails, or inflict some other injury, offered himself to them, begging them to leave me and turn their rage on him. May the Lord return him a hundredfold, with usury, for that heroic charity which led him to give "his life for his friend," and for those "who had begotten him in Christ in bondage."

Towards evening of that day they carried off William Couture, whom they regarded as a young man of unparalleled courage, to Teonontogen, the furthest village of their canton, and gave him to an Indian family. (It is the custom of these savages, when they spare a prisoner's life, to adopt him into some family, to supply the place of a deceased member, to whose rights he, in a manner, succeeds; he is subject thenceforward to no man's orders but those of the head of the family, who, to acquire this right, offers some presents.*) But seeing that René and I were less vigorous, they led us to the first village, the residence of the party that had captured us, and left us there [Ossernenon] till some new resolution should be taken.

After so many a long day spent fasting, after so many sleepless nights, after so many wounds and stripes, especially after such heart-rending anguish of mind, when time was, so to speak, given us at last to feel our sufferings, we sank into a state of helplessness. Scarce able to walk or even stand erect, nor night nor day brought a moment of repose,

* This is a note added apparently by another hand, as it interrupts the narrative.

from many evils, but chiefly from our still untended wounds; all this state was rendered more trying by the myriads of lice, fleas and bugs, which it was not easy to keep from us with maimed and mutilated fingers. Besides this, we suffered from hunger; more true here than elsewhere is the saying:

"Non cibus utilis ægro."

So that, with nothing but unripe squashes to add to their American (or, as we Europeans call it, Turkish) corn, carelessly bruised between two stones, we were brought to the verge of the grave, especially René, whose stomach refused this food, and who, from his many wounds, had almost lost his sight. The Indians then seeing us fail day by day, hunted up in the village some small fishes and some bits of meat dried in the sun or smoke, and pounding them, mixed them with our sagamity. After three weeks we were just recovering from our illness, when we were sought to be put to death. The two hundred Indians who had maltreated us so on the way, advanced into New France, to the point where the river Iroquois,* so called from them, empties into the great river St. Lawrence: here seeing a party of French engaged in laying the foundations of Fort Richelieu, they thought they could easily kill some and carry off the rest as prisoners. Accordingly the whole two hundred, in a single column, almost all armed with muskets, rushed almost unexpected on the whites engaged in their various works. At the first onset of the foe, the French, though but a handful compared to the hostile forces, flew to arms, and so bravely and successfully withstood their savage assailants, that after killing two and wounding many more, they put the rest to flight. The war party returned furious, and as though they had been greatly wronged, who had gone forth to do wrong, demanded the death of such of us as were yet alive. "It is a shame," they cried, "that three Frenchmen should live quietly among us, when they have so lately slain three of our braves." Amid these complaints, René's safety especially and my own were brought into great jeopardy. He alone, who as he gave, so protecteth life, warded off the blow.

[Sept. 7.] On the eve of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, one of the principal Hollanders, who have a settlement

* The Sorel, or Richelieu.

not more than twenty leagues from these Indians, came with two others to effect our liberation.* He remained there several days, offered much, promised more, obtained nothing. But as they are a wily and cunning race of savages, in order not to seem to refuse all that a friend asked, but to concede something to his desires, they lyingly asserted that they would in a few days restore us to our countrymen. This was perhaps the wish of some of them; but in the latter part of September (for constant rains had put off the matter till that time) a final council was held on our fate, although ostensibly provisions had been prepared and men appointed to take us back. Here the opinion of the few well inclined was rejected, confusion carried the day, and some clamorous braves declared that they would never suffer a Frenchman to be taken back alive. The council broke up in alarm, and each, as if in flight, returned to his lodge or the village whence he came. Left thus to the cruelty of bloodthirsty men, attempts were constantly made on our lives. Some, tomahawk in hand, prowled around the cabins to find and despatch us. However, towards the close of the council, God had inspired me with some thought that induced me to draw my companions together, without the village, in a field belonging to the cabin where I was. Here, ignorant of what had transpired, we lay hid in comparative safety, until the storm under which we should all have fallen, had we remained in the village, was somewhat calmed.

William was after this taken back by his master to his own village. René and I, perceiving that there was now no hope of our return, withdrew to pray on a neighboring hill which commands the village. Here, remote from every witness and from all officious intrusion, we resigned ourselves entirely to God and to His holy will. On our road back to the village we were reciting our beads, and had already completed four decades of the rosary, when we met two young men, who commanded us to return to the village. "Dear brother," said I, "we know not what may be, in this period of general excitement, the design of these men; let us com-

* This was the celebrated Arendt Van Curler, so highly esteemed by the French and Indians. The latter even gave his name perpetually to the English governors. He was the constant friend of Father Jogues, and after many ineffectual attempts to ransom him, by the charitable contributions of the Dutch colonists, aided him to escape. The journal of his present visit to the Mohawk villages has been published by Dr. O'Callaghan in his History of New Netherland, vol, i. p. 334.

mend ourselves earnestly to God, and to the most blessed Virgin our good Mother." We had reached the village in prayer, when at its very entrance one of the two who had met us, plucking forth his tomahawk, which was concealed in his dress, dealt René so deadly a blow on the head that he fell lifeless, invoking the most holy name of Jesus as he fell. We had happily (mindful of the indulgence thereby gained) often reminded each other to close our life by uttering with our dying voice that holiest of names.

At the sight of the reeking hatchet I knelt down on the spot, and, uncovering my head, awaited a like blow; but when I had been there a moment or two, they bade me rise, as he had no right to kill me, for I was the slave of another family. Rising then in haste, I ran to my still breathing companion and conferred absolution, which I was in the habit of giving him after his confession every other day; then two other blows, dealt before my very face, added him to the number of the blessed. He was thirty-five years of age, eminent for his simplicity of manners, his innocence of life, his patience in adversity. Entirely submissive to God, whom he in all things regarded as present before his eyes, he was ever resigned to His most holy will in love. Most worthy is he, Reverend Father, to be counted among thy children, not only because he had most edifyingly spent several months in one of the novitiates of the Society, and had afterwards, by order of the Superiors, to whom he gave the entire disposal of his life, proceeded to Huronia to aid the Christian population by his medical knowledge, but especially does he merit it from the fact that, a few days before his death, impelled by a desire of uniting himself more closely to God, he pronounced the usual vows of the Society to subject himself to it as far as in him lay. And certain it is, that in life as in death, where his last word was the most holy name of Jesus, he had proved himself no unworthy son of the Society. Nay, I not only love him as a brother, but revere him as a martyr —martyr to obedience, and still more, a martyr to the faith and to the cross. As he was very pious, and accustomed to be with the Christians, or such as were more intimate with our Christians, he daily spent a long time in prayer, to the wonder and even suspicion of the savages, so novel did it seem to them. These suspicions were confirmed in their minds, when one day, taking off the cap of a child in the hut where he lived, he made him make the sign of the cross on

his breast and forehead; for a superstitious old Indian, the grandfather of the boy, seeing this, ordered him to be killed. This I afterwards learned from the boy's mother, who told me that he had been killed by the old man for that reason.

But to resume my narrative. After I had been a little while in our hut, where my life had been pretty tranquil, I was taken to another, the hut of the one that had cut off my thumb, a most bitter enemy of the Algonquins, and consequently of the French. Here not I alone, but the Iroquois generally, expected every moment to see me tomahawked. In consequence some who had given me articles of clothing, that I might in part at least cover my person, now asked them back, for fear of losing them by my death.

The next day I was filled with so great an anxiety to know what had become of my dear companion that I resolved to look for his body at all hazards, and commit it, if possible, to the earth. After stripping it, they had contemptuously tied a rope around the neck and dragged it through the village to a ravine at a considerable distance, where they flung it. As I was going out of the village I met the old man in whose lodge I had previously been; he advised me to stay at home: "Whither art thou hurrying," he exclaimed, "thou art scarce alive; they seek thee every where to slay thee, and yet thou goest to find an already putrefying corpse; dost thou not see those fierce young braves who are about to kill thee?" Some in fact had gone out of the village just before me with arms in their hands; but fearlessly, for in my bitter anguish it was 'a pain to live, a gain to die' in such a work of charity, I pursued my way. When the old man saw me so resolute he asked another Indian to go with me. By his assistance I found the body which the dogs had begun to gnaw about the hips, and, sinking it in the deepest part of the torrent, I covered it with a heap of stones, intending to return the next day with a spade and bury it secretly and alone, for I was afraid that they would disinter it. As I re-entered our hut I found two young men waiting to take me to their village to put me to death. Aware of their design I told them that I was in the hands of those with whom I lived, that if they gave the slightest consent I would accompany them; as I would, in fact, have done. Seeing that they gained nothing in this way, the next day one of them, who, at the time of our capture had, with his brother, been wounded in the action,

seeing me in a field, whither I had gone to execute some order of my owners, seized a hatchet and was rushing on to kill me, when he was stopped by an old man of our family and prevented from accomplishing his design. Thus did the Almighty teach me "to cast all my solicitude on him," "knowing that he hath care for me, and that I should not fear the face of man," when the Almighty was the protector of my life, without whose permission not a hair could fall from my head.

As I could not that day accomplish my design, I proceeded to the spot early the next morning, with a spade or hoe, to inter the body, but alas! they had carried off my brother. I returned to the spot, I ascended the mount at the foot of which the torrent ran, I descended again; I searched the wood on the opposite side,—all, all in vain. The torrent ran swollen by the night rains, but undeterred either by its depth or the cold, for it was the first of October, I tried the bottom with my stick and feet, as I thought that the stream might perhaps have borne him to another spot; I asked all whom I met, whether they knew any thing of him; but as they are a most mendacious race and always give an affirmative answer without regard to truth, they falsely told me that it had been dragged to a quite distant river. What groans did I not utter then? What tears did I not shed, mingling them with the waters of that mountain stream, chanting to Thee, my God, the psalms which the holy Church employs in the service of the dead.

When, however, the snows had melted away I heard from the young men that they had seen the scattered bones of the Frenchman. Hurrying to the spot, I gathered up the half-gnawed bones, the remnants left by the dogs, the foxes and the crows, and clearest of all the skull fractured in several places; these, reverently kissing, I committed to the earth that I might one day, if such were God's will, bear them with me as a great treasure to a consecrated Christian land.

From many other dangers which I know and know not, did the Lord rescue me, unwilling and furious as the Iroquois were; but the following I should not omit. There was in our cabin an idiot who asked me to let him cut off two hands' breadth from a wretched bit of cloth not seven long, yet all that I had to cover me. "Brother," said I, "thou seest me shivering every night under this short thin cover-

ing; but do as thou wilt." My modest excuse offended him; and when soon after I went to the huts of the baptized Hurons, whom I daily instructed and "bore again till Christ should be formed in them," (Gal. iv. 19,) he came in search of me and fiercely bade me return. When I entered the cabin, René's murderer was sent for, that the same hand might end both our lives; they looked for him in vain; he could not be found. I was accordingly sent the next day with two women into a field of his, where he was then staying, under the pretence of bringing back some article or other, but in fact to be exposed to death; for two days before the only son of one of their noble women had died in our cabin, and I was to be sacrificed to his manes. These women actually had with them the squashes, corn, and other articles of the kind which were to be the fee of my executioner. "But I like a deaf man heard not" the vain things they devised, "and like a dumb man opened not my mouth, and I became like a man that heareth not, nor hath a reply in his mouth," (Ps. xxvii. 14,) "because in Thee, O Lord, have I hoped;" but mindful of his meekness, "who was led like a lamb to the slaughter," (Acts, viii. 32,) I went to my death begging the Lord with David "to turn away evil from my enemies and scatter them in his truth." (Ps. liii. 7.) About midway we met the looked-for murderer. Seeing him at a distance, I commended myself for the last time to God, begging him to receive a life spent with care and anguish; but my sins still rendered me unworthy. He passed quietly by us, and his mother, who soon met us, addressed some words, of what import I know not, to those who conducted me; on this, trembling and as if in flight, they darted off, leaving me in the road, for they saw that I was aware of their design.

Amid this frequent fear and death, while every day I die, or rather drag on a life more bitter than any death, two months glided away. During this time, I made no effort to learn their language; for why should I, who every moment expected to die? The village was a prison for me; I avoided being seen; I loved the wild wood, where I begged the Lord not to disdain to speak to his servant; to give me strength in such fearful trials—in which indeed, if I have become a prodigy to many, God was my stout helper, and often, by His unfailing goodness, roused my drooping spirits. I had recourse to the Holy Scriptures, my only

refuge "in the tribulations which had found me exceedingly:" these did I venerate; with these I wished to die. Of all the books which we were carrying to Huronia for the use of the Frenchmen living there, none had fallen into my hands but the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, with the paraphrase of the Right Rev. Anthony Godeau, Bishop of Gratz. This little book, with a picture of St. Bruno, the illustrious founder of the Carthusian order, to which some indulgences were attached, and a rude wooden cross which I had made, I always carried about me; so that wherever death, ever present before my eyes, should strike me down, I might cheerfully die with the Holy Scriptures, which had ever been my greatest consolation, with the graces and indulgences of my most holy mother the Church, whom I always greatly, but now most tenderly loved, and with the cross of my Lord and Saviour.

And now the middle of October was come, when the Indians leave their villages to go and hunt deer, which they take by traps, or kill with their guns, in the use of which they are very skilful. This season, to the Indians one of relaxation and enjoyment, brought its new burden of sorrows for me; for I was given to a party who were at first amazed at me, then ridiculed, and at last began to hate me. Mindful of the character imposed upon me by God, I began with modesty to discourse with them of the adoration of one only God, of the observance of his commandments, of heaven, hell, and the other mysteries of our faith, as fully as I was able. At first, indeed, they listened; but when they saw me constantly recur to these things, and especially when the chase did not meet with the desired success, then they declared that I was a demon who caused them to take so little game. But what turned their ill-will into perfect rage and fury, so to speak, was this: it is the custom with all these nations to have recourse, in their hunting, fishing, war, sickness, and the like, to a certain demon, whom they call Aireskoi.* Whoever desires his fishing, hunting, or other expeditions to be successful, takes meat and other of the better articles of food, and begs the

* In Huron, Agreskoué. This demon or divinity is evidently the same as Tharonhyawagon, or the holder of the heavens, whose worship, even among the so-called Pagan Iroquois, has been superseded by that of the true God, called by them "Niio," a corruption of *Dieu*, or with an Indian prefix, Hawenniio.

oldest of the house or village to *bless* them for him, if I may use the expression, and there are some to whose blessings they attach more value than to others. The old man standing opposite the one who holds the meat, in a loud and distinct voice, speaks thus: "Oh, demon Aireskoi! lo we offer thee this meat, and of it we prepare thee a banquet, that thou mayest eat thereof and show us where lurk the deer, and lead them into our traps;" or if not during the chase, "that by thee we may again behold the spring, taste the new harvest, and again engage in the chase in the fall:' if it be a case of illness—"that by thee we may recover health."

The very first time I heard a formula couched in such words, I was filled with a deep detestation of this barbarian superstition, and firmly resolved to abstain for ever from meats thus offered. They interpreted this abstinence on my part, and this contempt of their demon, as the cause of their taking little game: "the wicked have hated me without cause." (John xv. 25.) As under the influence of this hate, they would neither listen to my instructions, nor help me to acquire their language in which I refuted their fables, I resolved to devote my time entirely to spiritual exercises. Accordingly, I went forth every morning from the midst of this Babylon, that is, our hut, where constant worship was paid to the devil and to dreams,* and "saved myself in the mountain," (Gen. xix. 17,) a neighboring hill. Here I had formed a large cross on a majestic tree, by stripping off the bark, and at its foot I spent almost the whole day with my God, whom, almost alone in those vast wilds, I worshipped and loved: sometimes in meditation or in prayer, at other times reading an Imitation of Christ, which I had just before recovered. This for some time was unperceived; but on one occasion finding me, as was my wont, in prayer before my cross, they attacked me most violently, saying that they hated the cross, that it was a sign they and their friends, the neighboring Europeans, knew not, (alluding to the Dutch Protestants). Upon this, I changed

* An instance of their superstitious worship of dreams gave him an occasion of Christian fortitude. A sick man, for whom the medicine-men were performing their usual mummeries, dreamed that he should recover if Ondesson were to come with his Arrihsa, or book, and do as the French did when they prayed; —they called on Jogues to satisfy this dream; but he resolutely refused, though threatened with death; and when they attempted to drag him there, he escaped by a precipitate flight.—*Buteux's MSS.* (See *Bruyas, Racines Agnieres.*)

my conduct; and whereas I had before carefully avoided praying or kneeling in the hut, that I might not give them the slightest reason to complain, (for we should, especially among savages but little accustomed to such things, act in all prudence,) I now conceived that I should no longer refrain from those pious exercises which make up a spiritual life—a life I far preferred to my temporal one. This I believed would be serviceable to them when the moment of their conversion should come, "which the Father hath put in his own power." (Acts i. 7.)

While thus an object of their enmity, I certainly suffered much from hunger and cold, the contempt of the lowest of men, the bitter hatred of their women, who are the greatest gainers by the hunting season, and regarded me as the cause of their want and poverty. I endured, indeed, great hunger, for as almost all the venison on which they then chiefly lived had been offered to the demon in these oblations, I spent many days fasting; and almost every night when I came in famished, I would see our Egyptians sitting over their fleshpots, which my severe, though self-imposed law, prevented my touching. And although reasons occurred to me in a manner dissuading me from my course, yet, by God's grace, I never suffered myself to break my resolution, but in hunger said to my Lord, "We shall be filled with the good things of thy house," (Ps. lxiv. 5;) "I shall be satisfied when thy glory shall appear," (Ps. xvi. 15,) when thou wilt truly fill the desire of thy hungry servants in thy holy city Jerusalem, "which thou wilt fill for ever with the fat of corn." (Ps. cxlvii. 14.)

I suffered also greatly from cold, amid the deep snows in my scanty, worn-out cloak, especially at night, when ordered to sleep uncovered on the bare ground on some rough bark; for though they had plenty of deer-skins, perfectly useless to them, not one was given to me; nay, when sometimes, on a very bitter night, I would, driven by the cold, secretly take one, they rose at once and stripped it from me, so great was their enmity. My skin was now in such a state, that I could, with David, say, "it had withered with the filth of dust," (Job vii. 5;) it split with cold, and gave me great pain all over my body.

But when inward afflictions came crowding on these outward cares, then indeed my grief became intolerable. I remembered that I had been recently covered with the life's

blood of my dearest companion—and those who came from William's Village told me that he had already been put to death, with exquisite torture, and that I myself, on my return, was to meet the same fate. With this came up the remembrance of my past life, stained with so many sins, and so unfaithful to God; and I grieved that I was thus to be torn away, unaided by any of the sacraments, in the midst of my course—rejected, as it were, by God, with no good works sent on to plead my cause. In this state, loathing life, yet shrinking from death, I uttered many a mournful cry, and said unto my God: When shall my sorrows and miseries have an end?—How long wilt thou forget our want and our tribulation?—When, after this tempest, wilt thou give us calm, and, after weeping, joy and exultation?—"And had not those days been shortened, my flesh had not been saved." (Mark xiii. 20.) I had recourse to my wonted refuge of the Scriptures, my usual retreat, and passages which my memory had retained taught me how I should think of God in goodness, even though not upheld by sensible devotion; that I should know that "the just man lives by faith." (Wis. i. 1.) I searched them; I followed their streamlets, and sought, as it were, to quench my daily thirst. "I meditated on the law of God night and day," (Ps. i. 2,) and "had not the law of God been my meditation, I had perhaps perished in my abjection," (Ps. cxviii 92,) and "my soul had passed through a water insupportable." (Ps. cxxiii. 8.) "But blessed be God, who did not give us a prey to the teeth of our enemies," (Ps. cxxiii. 6,) "whose hour had come and the power of darkness," (Luke xxii. 53,) "in which we were overmuch oppressed," (2 Cor. i. 8;) so that I was weary of life, and could say with Job, though in a different meaning, "Although he should kill me, I will trust in him." (Job. xiii. 15)

Thus passed two months away in this retreat, where, like St. Bernard, a disciple of the trees of the forest, I thought of naught but God, until, having become an object too hateful to all to be any longer borne with, I was sent back to the village before the usual time. During this journey, which took us eight days, "I was become like a beast of burthen before God," (Ps. lxxii. 23,) under the heavy load of venison which I carried; and being ignorant what fate awaited me at the village, since many reports had been spread about me by a party that had gone before, I endeav-

ored to be ever united with God. My sufferings on the march from the intense cold were extreme; for I was nearly naked, and we generally passed the night in the open air.* My unhealed fingers were another source of misery, for the wounds were hardly closed by the middle of January. In the village, however, a thin skin was added to my worn-out mantle, and in this wretched guise I traversed the streets of our village, begging that the Lord would one day join me to his saints, who formerly served him in "sheep-skins, in goat-skins, distressed, afflicted, of whom the world was not worthy." (Heb. xi. 37.) And I daily saw the Indians well dressed in the cloth and garments which our baggage had plentifully supplied, while I was shivering night and day with cold;—but this was little; more was I moved to see these heathen men unworthily profane things dedicated to the service of God. One of them had made himself leggings of two of the veils used at Mass—

—— "non hos servatum munus in usus."—*Æn.* iv. 647.

I can, in truth, say before God of all that period up to mid-January: "Even unto this hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no fixed abode. And we labor working with our hands: we are reviled and we bless; we are persecuted and we suffer it; we are ill-spoken of and we entreat; we are made as the refuse of this world, the offscouring of all, even until now." (1 Cor. iv. 11.)

When in the middle of January my owners returned from the chase, they in a manner dressed me in skins, until a Lorrainese, who lived among our Dutch neighbors, hearing that I suffered greatly from cold, sent me from his house a dress, such as they usually sell to the Indians. This brought some slight alleviation to my pains; but I found still greater in the care of an old woman, whose only son had died not long before. A noble of high rank in the nation (for barbarism, too, has its nobles),† she took care

* He omits an act of charity which he performed on this march. A woman, heavily loaded and carrying a child, fell from a tree which formed a bridge over a deep and rapid stream, and would have perished had he not sprung into the water and rescued her. Yet they showed no gratitude: on returning to the village, he was sent back to the hunters, and falling from exhaustion, was set to nurse one of his persecutors, then a dying mass of corruption, abandoned by all.—*Buteux.*

† Some of these noble matrons, under the name of Oyenders, sat in council with the Sachems.—*Bruyas, Racines Agnieres.*

of me, and "the Lord gave me grace in her eyes." Yet all this was but a slight solace in such woe.

When I saw that my life was at last in some sort spared, I applied myself to the study of the language, and as our cabin was the council-hall not only of the village, but almost all that canton, I began to instruct the oldest on the articles of our faith. They, too, put me many questions as to the sun and moon, the face which seems to appear on her disk, the circumference of the earth, the size of the ocean, its tides, whether, as they had heard, the heavens and the earth anywhere met each other? Adapting my philosophy to their reach, I satisfied them on all these points;—then, indeed, they began to wonder and say: "Indeed we should have lost a great treasure, had we put this man to death, as we have been so often on the point of doing." Then I endeavored to raise their minds from creatures to a knowledge of the Creator: I confuted their old wives' tales of the creation of the world, which their fable makes out to have been created by a tortoise: the sun was, I showed them, not only without intellect, but even a lifeless mass, much less a God: "with whose beauty, if they, being delighted, took it to be a God, they should know how much the Lord of it is more beautiful than it," (Wis. xiii. 3;) that Aireskoi, whom they pretended to be the author and preserver of life, and the giver of all the good things which they enjoyed, was not a God, but a demon.

Were they as easy in belief as they are easy to be convinced, the matter would soon be settled; but "the prince of this world" (John xii. 31,) expelled from almost every quarter of the globe by the power of the Cross, seems to have retreated into these regions as his last stronghold; so that the kingdom which this "strong man armed" (Luke xi. 21) has possessed here for so many thousand years, can be overthrown only in lapse of time, and by unconquerable constancy on the part of the soldiers of Christ. From time to time, however, Christ, their true Lord and Lord of all, chooses some for himself, not only among the infants, many of whom are now in heaven, but even among adults, some of whom I baptized in sickness or in bondage.

Many other native adults I instructed; but some refused to listen to me, others rejected me, others assented merely with the lips, from a kind of politeness which makes them consider it rude to contradict you, and which would easily

mislead most. I sometimes even made excursions to the neighboring villages to console and instruct the Christian Hurons, "who had not bent their knee before Baal," (3 Kings xix. 18,) and to absolve them after hearing their confessions, to announce a God every where, so far as I was able, to succor the dying, but especially to save infants in danger of death. This was my only solace in my bitterest mental pangs; and once when with this view I visited a neighboring village, and there baptized five children, I learned soon after, in another excursion, that all had been called to heaven.

In these and like exercises, therefore, and efforts at the study of their language (what study can there be without writing?) two months glided by. About the middle of March, when the snow had melted away, they took me with them to their fishing-ground. A party accordingly started, consisting of the old man and woman, a little boy and myself;—four days travel brought us to a lake, where we caught nothing but a few little fishes. The entrails of these generally served as a seasoning for our sagamity, the fish being laid by to carry back to the village. Such food as this—with the entrails of deer, full of blood and half-putrefied excrement, boiled fungus, decayed oysters, frogs eaten whole, head and feet, unskinned, uncleaned—had hunger, custom, and want of better made, I will not say tolerable, but even pleasing. How often in those journeys, and in that lonely wilderness, "did we sit by the rivers of Babylon and weep while we remembered thee, Sion," (Ps. cxxxvi. 1–4,) not only exulting in heaven, but even praising thy God on earth! "How often, though in a strange land, did we sing the canticle of the Lord," and mountain and wild-wood resound with the praises of their Maker, which from their creation they had never heard! How often on the stately trees of the forest did I carve the most sacred name of Jesus, that, seeing it, the demons might fly, who tremble when they hear it! How often, too, did I not strip off the bark, to form the most holy cross of the Lord, that the foe might fly before it; and that by it thou, O Lord, my King, "might reign in the midst of thy enemies," (Ps. cix. 2,) "the enemies of thy Cross," (Phil. iii. 18,) the misbeliever and the pagan who dwell in that land, and the demons who rule so fearfully there! I rejoiced, too, that I had been led by the Lord into the wilderness at the very time when the Church

recalls the story of His Passion, so that I might more uninterruptedly remember the course of its bitterness and gall, and "my soul pine away at the remembrance," Jer. iii. 20. When, therefore, I had fulfilled the task imposed on me by my masters as their slave—the slave of savages—when I had cut and brought in wood for the fire in the lodge, I spent almost all the rest of my time before a large cross which I had formed on a huge pine-tree at a considerable distance from the hut. But I was not long allowed to enjoy this holy repose; indeed too many days had passed unalarmed by my wonted terrors. On Monday in Holy Week, an Indian came to us from the village; the reason of his coming was this: Ten Iroquois, among whom was the son of the man who had cut off my thumb, and in whose hut I now dwelt, had gone out on a war-party about midsummer. Summer, fall, and even the long winter passed, and yet no tidings of them came: they were consequently given up. especially as neighboring nations said that they had fallen victims to the cruelty of the enemy. Early in the spring, during our absence, a captive was brought in, who being also questioned as to them, gave the same answer, and said that they had been killed. Then indeed deeming, what they already believed, to be now passed doubt, they sacrificed that very captive to the manes of the young brave, my master's son. But the soul of this captive seemed too vile to atone for the life of the noble youth. I was accordingly sent for from the lake where we were, that my life with his might compensate for the death of the chieftain. Such, at least, was the conclusion to which one or two old women and a decrepit old man had come. We consequently set out the next day, as if in flight, under the pretence that parties of the enemy were around us. We reached the village towards evening, on Maundy Thursday, April 2. The morrow, which had closed the Saviour's life, was now to close mine also, when it pleased Him who, by dying on that day, had given life to my spirit, to give it to my body also. Accordingly on that day, when I was to have been put to death, rumor was spread, as if without good authority, that those supposed to be dead were still alive; then it came that they had joined another war party, and were now bringing in twenty-two captives.

Thus did God scatter the malignant designs of the savages—instructing and showing me that he took care of

me, that I should cast myself wholly on him, conscious that he would not recoil and let me fall.

Although I naturally rejoiced to be rescued from these and other dangers, yet I sighed to see myself given over to new sorrows and heart-breaking torments, compelled to drag on a life more painful than the most cruel death; for the success, as well as the reverses of these men, fell heavily on me alone. If any one was slain in battle, I was at once demanded as a victim to be offered to his shade; but if, as was generally the case, they brought in prisoners after having killed more, my heart was always rent with grief, for they were either Frenchmen, or allies of the French.

Naturally, therefore, did I prefer retirement and solitude, where, far from the villages, I was no longer dismayed at the wonted cruelty of these savages, and where I could better and more freely hold converse with God. Yet, knowing that though Lia was blear-eyed, she was more fruitful than Rachel, and bore more children; mindful, too, of the Institute of our Society, which prefers our neighbor's salvation to our private spiritual joy, I unreluctantly remained at home, for the village enabled me to make greater progress in the language, and to secure the salvation of infants and adults by baptism; for I was greatly grieved whenever during my absence an adult died without instruction, or a child without baptism.

To return to our war-party: they came in, bringing twenty-two prisoners, but belonging to a nation with whom they had never as yet been at war;* still, in violation of all right and justice, they were beaten with clubs and stripes, and mutilated by the usual cutting off of fingers. Five of them were to be put to death—for all the rest, being boys and girls, or women, were kept as slaves. Their instruction was now the object of my solicitude, for I was ignorant of their language; yet, by God's grace, I was enabled, by a few words that I knew, but chiefly by the kindness of one who knew both languages, to instruct and baptize them.

This happened at Easter.† At Whitsuntide (May 24), they brought in new prisoners—three women with their little children, the men having been killed near the French settlements. They were led into the village entirely naked

* A manuscript says Abnakis.

† Between these, in April there came a Sokoki embassy to solicit his liberation. This he details in the narrative of his escape.

—not even with any kind of drawers on—and after being severely beaten on the way, had their thumbs cut off. One of them (a thing not hitherto done) was burned all over her body, and afterwards thrown into a huge pyre. Worthy of note is a strange rite I then beheld. When this woman was tortured, at every burn which they caused, by applying lighted torches to her body, an old man, in a loud voice, exclaimed: "Demon Aireskoi! we offer thee this victim, whom we burn for thee, that thou mayst be filled with her flesh, and render us ever anew victorious over our enemies." Her body was cut up, sent to the various villages, and devoured;—for about midwinter, grieving, as it were, that they had refrained from eating the flesh of some prisoners, they had, in a solemn sacrifice of two bears, which they offered to their demon, uttered these words: "Justly dost thou punish us, oh demon Aireskoi!—lo, this long time we have taken no captives: during the summer and fall we have taken none of the Algonquins." (These they consider properly their enemies.) "We have sinned against thee, in that we ate not of the last captives thrown into our hands; but if we ever again capture any, we promise thee to devour them, as we now do these two bears,"—and they kept their word.* This poor woman I baptized in the midst of the flames, for I was unable to do it before, and then succeeded only while raising a drink to her parched lips.

On the eve of St. John the Baptist, (June 23,) of whom it is written, "that many shall rejoice at his birth," a new weight was added to my usual sorrows: eleven Hurons and a Frenchman were brought in;—three Frenchmen and ten Hurons, among them some of the most celebrated Christians, had been killed, treacherously circumvented by a show of friendship. Of these they bore the scalps, or hair, which they tear off with the skin from the head of their fallen enemies.

Really, I felt in my own person this punishment deserved by my sins, and pronounced of old by God to His

* An idea too generally propagated by those who knew the Indians but slightly is, that those in Northern America had properly no religious worship. This is refuted by many facts; but by none, perhaps, more clearly than that here given by Father Jogues. We have here all the essentials of a sacrifice, which, in the human annals, is the only recognized act of adoration to a Supreme Being. The idea of man's sinfulness, of his condemnation to death, of a permitted substitution, of the great human sacrifice that was to appease the Almighty, are all here recognizable.

people when He said, "that their new moons, their festivals and solemnities, should be turned into grief and sorrow," (Osee ii. 11,) as Easter, and Whitsuntide, and the nativity of St. John the Baptist, each brought new sorrows on me, to be afterwards increased to agony by the slaughter of a hundred Hurons, most of whom, racked by fearful torments, were burned to death in the neighboring cantons. "Woe is me; wherefore was I born to see the ruin of my people." * (1 Mach. ii. 7.)

Verily, in these and like heart-rending cares, "my life is wasted with grief, and my years with sighs," (Ps. xxx. 11,) "for the Lord hath corrected me for mine iniquity, and hath made my soul waste away as a spider," (Ps. xxxviii. 12;) "he hath filled me with bitterness, he hath inebriated me with wormwood," (Lam. iii. 15,) "because the comforter, the relief of my soul, is far from me," (Lam. i. 16;) "but in all these things we overcome," and by the favor of God will overcome, "because of Him that hath loved us," (Rom. viii. 37,) until "he come that is to come, and will not delay," (Heb. x. 37,) "until my day, like that of a hireling, come," (Job. vii. 1, to xiv. 14,) or my change be made.

Although I could in all probability escape either through the Europeans or the Indian nations around us, did I wish to fly, yet on this cross to which our Lord has nailed me, beside Himself, am I resolved by His grace to live and die. For who in my absence would console the French captives? who absolve the penitent? who remind the christened Huron of his duty? who instruct the prisoners constantly brought in? who baptize them dying, encourage them in their torments? who cleanse the infants in the saving waters? who provide for the salvation of the dying adult, the instruction of those in health? Indeed I cannot but think it a peculiar interposition of divine goodness, that while a nation,

* About this time F. Jogues, who, since the Sokoki embassy, had risen in importance, was taken by some Sachems about to visit a dependent tribe, about eighty leagues distant from them. Hither he was led in triumph, as a proof of the irresistible power of the Mohawk. The tribe was poor, and he suffered much by the way, but had the inexpressible satisfaction of finding the Indian who had cut him down, when hung up at Teonontogen. He was dying, and though Jogues could give his bodily ailments only the tears of sympathy, he carefully instructed and baptized him, repaying his act of charity by the endless joys of heaven.

On his return to the village, he was knocked down and nearly killed by a madman: his kind mistress, or aunt, fearing for his safety, urged him to escape; but the letter shows his feelings on this point.

fallen from the true Catholic religion, barred the entrance of the faith to these regions, on one side, and on the other, a fierce war between savage nations, and on their account with the French, I should have fallen into the hands of these Indians, who by the will of God reluctantly, and I may say against their will, have thus far spared my life, that through me, though unworthy, those might be instructed, believe and be baptized, who are predestined to eternal life. Since the time when I was taken, I have baptized seventy children, young and old, of five different nations and languages, that of "every tribe, and people, and tongue, they might stand in the sight of the Lord." (Apoc. vii. 9.)

Therefore do I daily bow my knee to my Lord and to the Father of my Lord, that if it be for his glory, he may confound all the designs of the Europeans and savages for ransoming me or sending me back to the whites; for many of the Indians speak of my being restored, and the Dutch, among whom I write this, have frequently offered, and now again are offering to rescue me and my companions. I have visited them twice, and have been most kindly welcomed; they leave no stone unturned to effect our deliverance, and have made many presents to the Indians with whom I am, to induce them to treat me humanely.

But I am now weary of so long and so prolix a letter; I therefore earnestly beg your Reverence ever to recognize me, though unworthy, as one of yours; for though a savage in dress and manner, and almost without God in so tossed a life, yet as I have ever lived a son of the most holy Church of Rome and of the Society, so do I wish to die. Obtain for me from God, Reverend Father, by your holy sacrifices, that though I have hitherto but ill-employed the means He gave me to attain the highest sanctity, I may at least employ well this last occasion which He offers me. Your bounty, surely, owes this to a son who has recourse to you; for I lead a truly wretched life, where every virtue is in danger: Faith in the dense darkness of paganism, Hope in so long and hard trials, Charity amid so much corruption, deprived of all the sacraments. Purity is not, indeed, endangered here by delights, but is tried, amid this promiscuous and intimate intercourse of both sexes, by the perfect liberty of all in hearing and doing what they please; and, most of all, in their constant nakedness. For here, willing or not, you must often see what elsewhere

is shut out, not only from wandering, but even from curious eyes. Hence I daily groan to my God, begging Him not to leave me without help amid the dead ;—begging him, I say, that amid such impurity and such superstitious worship of the devil to which he has exposed me, naked as it were, and unarmed, "my heart may be undefiled in His justifications," (Ps. cxviii. 80,) so that when that good Shepherd shall come, "who will gather together the dispersed of Israel," (Ps. cxlvi. 2,) "He may gather us from among the nations to bless His holy name. Amen ! Amen !" (Ps. cv. 47.)

Your Reverence's
Most humble servant and son in Christ,
ISAAC JOGUES.

Permit me through your reverence to salute all my dear fathers and brothers whom I tenderly love and cherish in Christ, and to commend myself to their holy sacrifices and prayers.

Your most humble servant and son in Christ,
ISAAC JOGUES.

Renssalaerswyck, in New Netherland, August 5, 1643.*

II.

FATHER JOGUES TO MR. DE CHAMPFLOUR, GOVERNOR OF THREE RIVERS.

[Written in a jargon of French, Latin and Huron.]

SIR—This is my fourth letter since I fell into the hands of the Iroquois. Time and paper prevent by repeating here what I have already given you at length. Couture and I are yet alive. Henry, a young man taken at Montreal, was brought in on St. John's eve. He did not run the gauntlet on entering the village, nor has he lost any fingers as we did ; he is alive, as well as all the Hurons brought in with him. Be on your guard every where. New parties are constantly setting out, and you must rely on it that the river will not be free from the enemy before the fall. The

* This letter was written, as we shall see by No. III., after the holy missionary had left the Mohawk villages for the last time, unconscious as he was while penning it at Renssalaerswyck, our modern Albany, where the kind-hearted Dutch, impelled by their minister, Dominie Megapolensis, showed him every courtesy and kind sympathy.

Iroquois here are about 700; they have 300 arquebusses, and handle them well. They can reach Three Rivers by different streams. Fort Richelieu gives them a little more trouble, but does not hinder them. The Iroquois say that if those who took and killed the French at Montreal had known how you acted in rescuing the Sokokiois from the hands of the Algonquins, they would not have done so. They had set out in midwinter, before the news came. For all that, a new party has just set out, and Mathurin's man (F. Brebeuf knows him well) is with them, and leads the band, as he did at our capture last year. This troop desires and intends to take French as well as Algonquins. Do not let any consideration for me prevent your doing what may be for God's glory.

The design of the Iroquois, as far as I can see, is to take all the Hurons, if they can, put to death the most eminent, and a good part of the rest, and make of the two one people and one land. I feel great compassion for these poor people, many of whom are Christians, others Catechumens, prepared for baptism. When shall these evils be stopped? When they are all taken? I received many letters from the Hurons with the *Relation* taken at Montreal. The Dutch have wished to deliver us, but in vain. They are now making another effort, but will be, I think, equally fruitless. I am more and more resolved to stay here, as long as it shall please our Lord, and not go away, even if an occasion should offer. My presence consoles the French, Hurons and Algonquins. I have baptized more than sixty persons, many of whom are now in heaven. This is my only consolation, with the will of God, to which I most cheerfully unite mine.

I beg you to recommend them to offer prayers and masses for us, and especially for him who desires ever to be

Your most humble servant,

ISAAC JOGUES, S. J.

Iroquois Village, June 30th, 1643.

III.

FATHER JOGUES TO HIS SUPERIOR IN CANADA.

REVEREND FATHER: THE PEACE OF CHRIST.

On the very day of the feast of our holy Father Ignatius (July 31), I left the village where I was a prisoner to follow and accompany some Iroquois who were going first to trade,

then to fish. Having got through their traffic, they proceeded to a place seven or eight leagues below the Dutch post, which is on the river where we were fishing. While arranging our weirs for the fish, a report reached us that an Iroquois war party, returned from the Huron land, had killed five or six on the spot, and brought in four prisoners, two of whom had been already burnt at our village with more than common cruelty.

At these tidings my heart was rent with most keen and bitter grief, that I had not seen, consoled or baptized these poor victims. Fearful that something of the kind might happen again during my absence, I went to a good old woman, who from her age and her care of me, as well as from her compassion for my sufferings, called me her nephew, as I called her aunt. "Aunt," said I, "I would much rather go back to our cabin, I am very lonesome here," I did not indeed expect more comfort or less pain at the village, where I suffered a continual martyrdom, compelled to witness before my eyes the horrible cruelties they perpetrate, but my heart could not bear that one should die without my affording him baptism. "Go, nephew," said this good woman, "go, if you are tired of this place, and take something to eat on the way." I accordingly embarked in the first canoe going up to the village, always conducted, and always accompanied by Iroquois.

On reaching the Dutch post through which we had to pass, I learned that our village was furious against the French, and that they only awaited my return to burn me. The reason of all was this. Among the war parties against the French, Algonquins and Hurons, was one that resolved to go and prowl around Fort Richelieu to spy the French and their Indian allies. A certain Huron of this band, taken by the Iroquois and naturalized among them, came to ask me for letters to carry to the French, hoping perhaps to surprise some one by this bait; but as I had no doubt the French would be on their guard, I saw the importance of giving them some inkling of the designs, arms and treachery of our enemy. I found means to get a bit of paper to write on. The Dutch did me this charity.*

I knew well the danger to which I exposed myself. I was well aware that if any mishap befell the party, I would be made responsible, and the blame thrown on my letters.

* The letter here referred to is the preceding.

I foresaw my death, but it seemed to me sweet and agreeable, employed for the public good, and the consolation of our French, and the poor Indians who listen to the word of Jesus Christ. My heart was undisturbed by fear at the sight of all that might happen—God's glory was concerned.

So I gave my letter to the young brave, who never returned. The story given by his comrades is, that he carried it to Fort Richelieu, and that as soon as the French saw it, they fired their cannon at them; that alarmed at this, most of them took to flight all naked, leaving one of their canoes, in which were three arquebuses, powder, ball and other articles. When this news was brought into the village, the cry was raised that my letter had caused them to be treated so. The rumor spread around; it reached my ears; I was taunted with the mishap; they talked of nothing but burning me; and had I been found in the village when these braves returned, fire, rage and cruelty had deprived me of life.

To increase my misfortune, another party, returning from the neighborhood of Montreal, where they had laid an ambush for the French, said that two of their party had been killed and two wounded. All made me guilty of these mishaps. They were now beside themselves with rage, and impatient for my return. All these reports I heard, offering myself unreservedly to our Lord, and resigning myself all in all to His most holy will.

The commander of the Dutch post where we were, aware of the evil design of the savages, and aware, too, that the Chevalier de Montmagny had prevented the Canada Indians from coming to kill the Dutch, had offered me means of escape. 'Here,' said he, 'lies a vessel at anchor, to sail in a few days. Get privately on board. It is bound first to Virginia, whence it will carry you to Bordeaux or Rochelle, where it must stop.' Thanking him with much respect and courtesy, I told him that the Iroquois would suspect them of favoring my escape, and perhaps do some injury to their people. 'No! no!' he replied, 'do not fear; get on board, it is a fine opportunity, and you will never find a surer way of escaping.'

At these words my heart was perplexed. I doubted whether it was not for the greater glory of our Lord to expose myself to the danger of savage fury and flames in order to aid in the salvation of some soul. I therefore replied,

'This affair, sir, seems to me so important, that I cannot give you an answer on this spot; give me, if you please, to-night, to think it over. I will recommend it to our Lord; I will examine the reasons on both sides, and will tell you my final resolution in the morning.' Greatly astonished, he granted my request. The night I spent in prayer, earnestly imploring our Lord not to let me adopt a conclusion myself, but to give me light to know His most holy will; that in all and through all, even to the stake itself, I would follow it. The reasons to retain me in the country were the consideration of the French and Indians; I loved them, and felt so great a desire to be of aid to them, that I had resolved to pass the rest of my days in this captivity for their salvation; but now I beheld the face of affairs entirely changed.

First, as for the three Frenchmen, brought prisoners like myself into the country; one, René Goupil, had already been massacred at my feet. This young man was as pure as an angel. Henry, taken at Montreal, had fled to the woods; because while he was beholding the cruelties perpetrated on two Hurons roasted alive, some Iroquois told him that they would treat him so, and me too, as soon as I got back. This threat made him resolve to run the risk of starving in the woods, or being devoured by some wild beast, rather than endure the torments inflicted by these half-demons. He had not been seen for seven days. As to William Couture, I could scarcely see any means of being of service to him, for he had been put in a village at a distance from mine, and the Indians kept him so busy here and there, that I could no longer find him. He had, moreover, himself told me,—'Father, try to escape; as soon as I see no more of you, I will manage to get off. You know well that I remain in this captivity only for your sake; do your best, then, to escape, for I cannot think of my own liberty or life till I see you in safety.' Besides, this good young friend had been given to an old man, who assured him that he would let him go in peace, if I could effect my deliverance; so that I no longer saw any reason to remain on account of the French.

As to the Indians, instructing them was now out of the question, and almost hopeless; for the whole country was so excited against me, that I no longer found means to speak to them, or gain them; and the Algonquins and Hurons

kept aloof from me, as a victim destined to the flames, because they feared to come in for a share of the rage and hatred which the Iroquois bore me. I saw, too, that I had some knowledge of their language, that I knew their country and their strength, and that I could perhaps contribute better to their salvation in other ways than by remaining among them. All this knowledge, it occurred to me, would die with me if I did not escape. The wretches, too, had so little intention of giving us up, that they committed an act of perfidy against the right and custom of all these nations. An Indian of the country of the Sokokois, allies of the Iroquois, having been taken by the upper Algonquins and brought to Three Rivers or Quebec as a prisoner, was delivered and set at liberty by the intervention of the Governor of New France, at the solicitation of our Fathers. The good Indian, seeing that the French had saved his life, sent beautiful presents in the month of April to deliver at least one of the French. The Iroquois retained the presents without setting one of us at liberty; a treachery perhaps unexampled among these tribes, for they invariably observe the law, that whoso touches or accepts the present made him, must execute what is asked by the present. Accordingly, when they do not wish to grant what is desired, they send back the presents, or make others in their stead.

But to return to my purpose. Having weighed before God, with all possible abstraction from self, the reasons for remaining among the Indians, and those for leaving, I concluded that our Lord would be more pleased with my taking the opportunity to escape.

As soon as it was day I went to salute the Dutch Governor, and told him the resolution I had come to before God; he called for the officers of the ship, told them his intentions, and exhorted them to receive and conceal me—in a word, to carry me over to Europe. They replied, that if I could once set foot in their vessel, I was safe; I should not leave it till I reached Bordeaux or Rochelle. "Cheer up, then,' said the Governor; 'return with the Indians, and this evening, or in the night, steal off quietly and make for the river, there you will find a little boat which I will have ready to take you to the ship.' After most humble thanks to all those gentlemen, I left the Dutch the better to conceal my design. In the evening, I retired with ten or twelve Iroquois, to a barn, where we spent the night: before lying

down, I went out to see where I could most easily escape. The dogs then let loose ran at me, and a large and powerful one snapped at my bare leg and bit it severely; I immediately entered the barn, the Iroquois closed the door securely, and to guard me better, came and lay beside me, especially one who was in a manner appointed to watch me. Seeing myself beset with these mishaps, and the barn well shut and surrounded by dogs, that would betray me if I attempted to go out, I almost thought that I could not escape, I sweetly complained to my God, that having given the thought of escaping, 'He hath shut up my way with square stones, and in a spacious place my feet.' (Lament. iii. 9.) This whole night also I spent without sleep; towards day, I heard the cocks crow:—soon after, a servant of the Dutch farmer who had received us into his barn, entered by some door I did not see. I went up to him softly, and not understanding his Flemish, made him a sign to stop the dogs barking; he immediately went out, and I after him as soon as I had taken my little luggage, consisting of a Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, an Imitation of Christ, and a wooden cross which I had made to keep me in mind of my Saviour's sufferings. Having got out of the barn without making any noise or waking my guards, I climbed over a fence which enclosed the house, and ran straight to the river where the ship was; it was as much as my wounded leg could do, for the distance was a good quarter of a league. I found the boat as I had been told, but as the tide had gone down, it was high and dry; I pushed it to get it to the water, but finding it too heavy, I called to the ship to send me their boat to take me on board. There was no answer; I do not know whether they heard me; be that as it may, no one appeared, and day was now beginning to reveal to the Iroquois the robbery which I had made of myself, and I feared to be surprised in my innocent crime. Weary of hallooing, I returned to my boat, and praying to the Almighty to increase my strength, I succeeded at last so well by working it slowly on, and pushing stoutly, that I got it into the water. As soon as it floated, I jumped in and reached the vessel alone, unperceived by any Iroquois. I was immediately lodged in the bottom of the hold, and to hide me they put a large box on the hatch. I was two days and two nights in the hold of this ship, in such a state that I expected to be suffocated and die of the stench, when I remembered poor

Jonas, and prayed our Lord 'that I might not flee from His face,' (Jonas i. 3,) nor depart from His will; but on the contrary, 'that He would infatuate all counsels' (2 Kings xv. 31) that were not for His glory, and to keep me in the land of these heathen if He did not approve my retreat and flight.

The second night of my voluntary imprisonment, the Minister of the Hollanders came to tell me that the Iroquois had made much trouble, and that the Dutch settlers were afraid that they would set fire to their houses and kill their cattle. They have reason to fear them, for they are armed with good arquebuses. 'If,' I replied, 'for my sake this great tempest is upon you, cast me into the sea.' (Jonas i. 12.) If this trouble has been caused by me, I am ready to appease it at the loss of my life. I had never wished to escape to the injury of the least man in the colony.*

At last, then, I had to leave my den; the sailors took umbrage, saying 'that they had pledged their word in case I could set foot on the ship, and that they were now taking me off at the very moment when they should have brought me, had I not been there; that I had put my life in danger by escaping on their promise, and that, cost what it might, they must stick to it.' This honest bluntness touched me, but I begged them to let me go, as the captain, who had opened to me the doorway of escaping, now asked me back.† I was taken to his house, where he kept me concealed. These comings and goings were done by night, so that I was not discovered. In all this proceeding I might have urged my own reasons, but it was not for me to speak in my own cause, but rather to follow the commands of others; I cheerfully submitted. At last the captain told me that we must yield calmly to the storm, and wait till the minds of the Indians were appeased: in this advice all concurred. Here, then, I am a voluntary prisoner in his house, whence I write this. If you ask my thoughts in all this affair, I will tell you first, that the vessel which had wished to save me has gone off without me; second, that if our Lord does not in an almost miraculous way protect me, the Indians, who come and go here every moment, will dis-

* He could say no more, for, spent with sufferings of mind and body, and with want of food, he fell senseless on the deck.—*MS. of* F. Bureux.

† By Captain, he means apparently another than Van Curler, whom he calls Governor, for he was not in his house.

cover me; and if they ever believe that I am still here, I must necessarily be restored to their hands.

Now, when they had such fury against me before my flight, how will they treat me when I fall again into their power? I will die by no ordinary death; their fire, rage, and new-devised cruelties will wring out my life. Blessed be God's name for ever! We are ever in the bosom of His divine and adorable providence. 'Yea, the very hairs of your head are numbered. Fear not, therefore; you are of more value than many sparrows,' 'not one of whom falls to the earth without your Father.' (Luke xii. 7.)

I have been hidden ten or twelve days, and it is hardly possible that an evil day will not come upon me.

In the third place, you will see our great need of your prayers, and of the holy sacrifices of all our Fathers. Give us this alms 'that the Lord may render me fit to love Him, patient to endure, constant to persevere in His holy love and service." This and a little New Testament from Europe are my sole desires. Pray for these poor nations that burn and eat each other, that they may come to a knowledge of their Creator, and render Him the tribute of their love. 'I am mindful of you in my bonds,' captivity cannot enchain my remembrance.

I am, in heart and affection, &c.

Renselaerwyck, 30 August, 1643. *

IV.

LETTER OF FATHER JOGUES TO FATHER CHARLES LALEMANT.

RENNES, *January* 6, 1644.

'Now I know in very deed that the Lord hath sent His angels and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the Jews.' (Acts xii. 11.) The Iroquois came to the Dutch post about the middle of September, and made a great deal of disturbance, but at last received the presents made by the captain who had me concealed. They amounted to about three hundred livres, which I will endeavor to repay. All things being quieted,

* The Mohawks were not easily appeased, and Father Jogues remained a close prisoner for six weeks; so much neglected by his honest, but, it would seem, avaricious host, that he actually suffered hunger and thirst; for, though his excellent friend Megapolensis constantly sent him victuals from his own table, it was not always that his present reached the missionary.

I was sent to Manhattan, where the Governor of the country resides. He received me very kindly, gave me clothes, and passage in a vessel which crossed the ocean in mid-winter.

Having put in in England, I got on a collier's vessel which brought me to Lower Brittany, with a nightcap on my head, in utter want of every thing, as you landed at St. Sebastian, but not after two shipwrecks.*

V.

FATHER JOGUES' DESCRIPTION OF NEW NETHERLAND.

New Holland, which the Dutch call in Latin *Novum Belgium*—in their own language, *Nieuw Netherland*, that is to say, New Low Countries—is situated between Virginia and New England. The mouth of the river, which some people call Nassau, or the Great North River, to distinguish it from another which they call the South River, and from some maps that I have recently seen I think Maurice River, is at 40 deg. 30 min. The channel is deep, fit for the largest ships, which ascend to Manhatte's Island, which is seven leagues in circuit, and on which there is a fort to serve as the commencement of a town to be built here, and to be called New Amsterdam.

The fort, which is at the point of the island, about five or six leagues from the mouth, is called Fort Amsterdam; it has four regular bastions mounted, with several pieces of artillery. All these bastions and the curtains were, in 1643, but mounds, most of which had crumbled away, so that they entered the fort on all sides. There were no ditches. For the garrison of the said fort, and another which they had built still further up against the incursions of the savages, their enemies, there were sixty soldiers. They were beginning to face the gates and bastions with stone. Within the fort there was a pretty large stone church, the house of the Governor, whom they call Director General, quite neatly built of brick, the storehouses and barracks.

On the Island of Manhatte, and in its environs, there may well be four or five hundred men of different sects and nations: the Director General told me that there were men of eighteen different languages; they are scattered here and there on the river, above and below, as the beauty and con-

* See Rel. 1642-3, p. 284.

venience of the spot invited each to settle: some, mechanics, however, who ply their trade, are ranged under the fort; all the others were exposed to the incursions of the natives, who, in the year 1643, while I was there, actually killed some two score Hollanders, and burnt many houses and barns full of wheat.

The river, which is very straight, and runs due north and south, is at least a league broad before the fort. Ships lie at anchor in a bay which forms the other side of the island, and can be defended from the fort.

Shortly before I arrived there, three large ships of 300 tons each had come to load wheat; two found cargoes, the third could not be loaded, because the savages had burnt a part of their grain. These ships came from the West Indies, where the West India Company usually keeps up seventeen ships of war."

No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist, and orders are to admit none but Calvinists, but this is not observed; for there are in the Colony besides the Calvinists, Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, here called Mnistes, &c., &c. When any one comes to settle in the country, they lend him horses, cows, &c.; they give him provisions, all which he returns as soon as he is at ease; and as to the land, after ten years he pays to the West India Company the tenth of the produce which he reaps.

This country is bounded on the New England side by a river which they call the Fresche river, which serves as a boundary between them and the English. The English, however, come very near to them, choosing to hold lands under the Hollanders, who ask nothing, rather than depend on English Lords, who exact rents, and would fain be absolute. On the other side, southward, towards Virginia, its limits are the river which they call the South river, on which there is also a Dutch settlement, but the Swedes have one at its mouth extremely well supplied with cannons and men. It is believed that these Swedes are maintained by some Amsterdam merchants, who are not satisfied that the West India Company should alone enjoy all the commerce of these parts. It is near this river that a gold mine is reported to have been found.

See in the work of the Sieur de Laet of Antwerp, the table and chapter on New Belgium, as he sometimes calls it, or the map "Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia."

It is about forty years since the Hollanders came to these parts. The fort was begun in the year 1615; they began to settle about twenty years ago, and there is already some little commerce with Virginia and New England.

The first comers found lands fit for use, formerly cleared by the savages, who had fields here. Those who came later have cleared the woods, which are mostly oak. The soil is good. Deer hunting is abundant in the fall. There are some houses built of stone:—lime they make of oyster shells, great heaps of which are found here, made formerly by the savages, who subsist in part by that fishery.

The climate is very mild. Lying at 40⅔° there are many European fruits, as apples, pears, cherries. I reached there in October, and found even then a considerable quantity of peaches.

Ascending the river to the 43d degree, you meet the second Dutch settlement, which the tide reaches but does not pass. Ships of a hundred and a hundred and twenty tons can come up to it.

There are two things in this settlement (which is called Renselaerswick, as if to say, settlement of Renselaers, who is a rich Amsterdam merchant)—1st, a miserable little fort called Fort Orange, built of logs, with four or five pieces of Breteuil cannon, and as many swivels. This has been reserved, and is maintained by the West India Company. This fort was formerly on an island in the river; it is now on the mainland, towards the Hiroquois, a little above the said island. 2d, a colony sent here by this Renselaers, who is the patron.—This colony is composed of about a hundred persons, who reside in some twenty-five or thirty houses built along the river, as each found most convenient. In the principal house lives the patron's agent; the Minister has his apart, in which service is performed. There is also a kind of Bailiff here, whom they call the Seneschal, who administers justice. Their houses are merely of boards and thatched, with no mason work except the chimneys. The forest furnishing many large pines, they make boards by means of their mills, which they have here for the purpose.

They found some pieces of ground all ready, which the savages had formerly cleared, and in which they sow wheat and

oats for beer, and for their horses, of which they have great numbers.* There is little land fit for tillage, being hemmed in by hills, which are poor soil. This obliges them to separate, and they already occupy two or three leagues of country.

Trade is free to all; this gives the Indians all things cheap, each of the Hollanders outbidding his neighbor, and being satisfied provided he can gain some little profit.

This settlement is not more than twenty leagues from the Agniehronons,† who can be reached by land or water, as the river on which the Iroquois lie, falls into that which passes by the Dutch, but there are many low rapids, and a fall of a short half league, where the canoe must be carried.

There are many nations between the two Dutch settlements, which are about thirty German leagues apart, that is, about fifty or sixty French leagues. The Loups, ‡ whom the Iroquois call Agotsagenens, are the nearest to Renselaerswick and Fort Orange. War breaking out some years ago between the Iroquois and the Loups, the Dutch joined the latter against the former; but four men having been taken and burnt, they made peace. Since then some nations near the sea have killed some Hollanders of the most distant settlement; the Hollanders killed one hundred and fifty Indians, men, women and children. They having then, at intervals, killed forty Hollanders, burnt many houses, and committed ravages, estimated at the time that I was there at 200,000 liv. (two hundred thousand livres,) they raised troops in New England. Accordingly, in the beginning of winter, the grass being trampled down and some snow on the ground, they gave them chase with six hundred men, keeping two hundred always on the move and constantly relieving one another; so that the Indians, shut up in a large island, and unable to flee easily, on account of their women and children, were cut to pieces to the number of sixteen hundred, including women and chil-

* The introduction of horses and of European fruits was much neglected by the French in Canada, and even later than this date an apple was a rarity.

† Mohawks.

‡ These are the Mohegans, whom Champlain, the first to know them, calls them "Mayganathicoise," which means "Wolf tribe," p. 178. The Indian name, Mohegan has been preserved in English, but the French, translating their name, generally call them Loups, that is, Wolves, though Mahingan is not unfrequent. Champlain puts them two days' march from the Yrocois, and three or four from the Dutch.

dren. This obliged the rest of the Indians to make peace, which still continues. This occurred in 1643 and 1644.

Three Rivers in New France,
August 3d, 1646.

VI.

LETTER OF FATHER JOGUES TO A FRIEND.

Alas, my dear Father, when shall I begin to love and serve Him whose love for us had no beginning? When shall I begin to give myself entirely to Him, who has given Himself unreservedly to me? Although I am very miserable, and have so misused the graces our Lord has done me in this country, I do not despair, as He takes care to render me better by giving me new occasions to die to self, and unite myself inseparably to Him.

The Iroquois have come to make some presents to our Governor to ransom some prisoners he held, and to treat of peace with him in the name of the whole country. It has been concluded, to the great joy of the French. It will last as long as pleases the Almighty.

To maintain it, and see what can be done for the instruction of these tribes, it is here deemed expedient to send some Father. I have reason to think I shall be sent, having some knowledge of the language and country. You see what need I have of the powerful aid of prayers, being amidst these savages. I will have to remain among them, almost without liberty to pray, without Mass, without Sacraments, and be responsible for every accident among the Iroquois, French, Algonquins, and others. But what do I say? my hope is in God, who needs not us to accomplish His designs. We must endeavor to be faithful to Him, and not spoil His work by our shortcomings. I trust you will obtain me this favor of our Lord, that, having led so wretched a life till now, I may at last begin to serve Him better.

My heart tells me that if I have the happiness of being employed in this mission, *Ibo et non redibo;* but I shall be happy if our Lord will complete the sacrifice where He has begun it, and make the little blood I have shed in that land the earnest of what I would give from every vein of my body and my heart.

In a word, this people is 'a bloody spouse to me,'—'in

my blood have I espoused it to me.' (Exod. iv. 25.) May our good Master, who has purchased them in His blood, open to them the door of His Gospel, as well as to the four allied nations near them.

Adieu, dear Father; pray Him to unite me inseparably to Him. ISAAC JOGUES, S. J.

VII.

LETTER OF FATHER JOGUES TO HIS SUPERIOR.

MONTREAL, *April*, 1646.

REVEREND FATHER:

The letter which it has pleased your Reverence to write found me in my retreat and in the exercises* which I had begun, there being no canoe to carry our letters. I chose this time, because the Indians, being at the chase, allow us to enjoy a greater silence.

Would you believe that, on opening your letter, my heart was at first seized with a kind of fear that what I desire, and what my soul should earnestly desire, might not arrive. Poor nature, mindful of the past, trembled; but our Lord, by His goodness, has given, and will again restore it calm.

Yes, Father, I will all that our Lord wills, and I will it at the peril of a thousand lives. Oh! how I should regret to lose so glorious an occasion, when it may depend only on me that some souls be saved! I hope that His goodness, which has not abandoned me in the hour of trial, will aid me still. He and I are able to trample down every difficulty that can oppose the project.

It is much to be '*in medio nationis pravæ*,' without Mass, without Altar, without Confession, without Sacraments; but His Holy will and divine providence so will it.

He who, by His holy grace, preserved us without these helps for eighteen or twenty months, will not refuse us the same favor, for we do not thrust ourselves into this work, but undertake this voyage solely to please Him, without consulting all the repugnances of nature.

* To make a retreat or perform the spiritual exercises is to give a certain time, usually eight days, to silence, prayer, meditation, pious reading, and self-examination. This is required annually by the rules of some religious orders, and is a common practice with the devout in Catholic countries, where suitable houses are to be found adapted for this temporary retirement.

As to all these comings and goings of the Iroquois, what I can say is, that I see very few from the first two towns; yet it is with them chiefly that we are concerned, as the last killed were of these villages. Scarcely any have come, except from the last village, where Couture was; and they profess, at least in words, not to come as warriors in these parts. It is not, however, with these last that we must dwell, but with those whom we do not see.

I thank you affectionately for sending me your Huron principles. Send the rest when you please. What I need is chiefly prayers, formularies for confession, *et ejusdem generis*. I will thereby become your debtor, as I am already on so many grounds. I owe your Reverence the account of the 'Capture and death of good René Goupil,' which I should have sent already. If the bearer of this give me time, I will send it along.

If God wills that I go to the Iroquois, my companion must be virtuous, docile, courageous, and willing to suffer something for God. It would be well for him to know how to make canoes, so that we can go and return without calling on the Indians.

VIII.

CAPTIVITY AND DEATH OF RENE GOUPIL.

BY FATHER ISAAC JOGUES.

René Goupil was a native of Angers, who, in the bloom of life, earnestly asked admission into our novitiate at Paris, where he remained some months with great edification. His bodily ailments having deprived him of the happiness of consecrating himself in the holy state of religion as he had wished, he crossed over to New France, as soon as he grew better, to serve the Society there, as he had not had the happiness of giving himself to it in the *old*. And to do nothing of his own head, though perfect master of his actions, he submitted himself entirely to the direction of the superior of the mission, who employed him for two whole years in the meanest employments of the house, which he discharged with great humility and charity. They also gave him the care of tending the sick and wounded in the hospital, a post he filled with great ability, for he was well skilled in surgery, and with equal love and charity always

beholding our Lord in the person of his patients. So sweet an odor of his goodness and other virtues did he leave in that place, that his memory is still in benediction there.

As we descended from the Hurons in July, 1642, we asked the Reverend Father Vimont to let us take him, as the Hurons greatly needed a surgeon, and he consented. It were impossible to express the joy of this good young man when the Superior told him to prepare for the voyage. He knew, withal, the great dangers on the river; he knew how furious the Iroquois were against the French; yet all this could not deter him from embarking for Three Rivers, at the slightest sign of His will, to whom he had voluntarily resigned all that concerned him.

We left there (Three Rivers) on the first of August, the morrow of the Feast of our Holy Father. On the second, we met the enemy, who, divided into two bands, awaited us, with all the advantage which a large number of picked men, fighting on land, can have over a smaller one of all kinds on the water in bark canoes.

Almost all the Hurons had fled into the wood, and, having left us, we were taken. Here his virtue was strikingly displayed; for as soon as he was taken, he said: 'Father! blessed be God, He has permitted it; He has wished it; His holy will be done! I love it, I wish it, I cherish it, I embrace it with all my heart.' While the enemy pursued the fugitives, I confessed him and gave him absolution, not knowing what was to befall us after our capture. The enemy, having returned from the chase, fell on us with their teeth, like furious dogs, tore out our nails and crunched our fingers, all which he endured with great patience and courage.

His presence of mind in so distressing an accident was shown specially in his aiding me, in spite of the pain of his wounds, in instructing, as far as he could, the Huron prisoners who were not yet Christians. As I was instructing them separately, and as they came to me, he reminded me that a poor old man named Ondŏterraon might well be one of those to be killed on the spot, it being then the custom always to sacrifice some one to the heat of their rage. I instructed this old man carefully while the enemy were busied with the division of the booty of twelve canoes, a part of which were laden with necessaries for our Huron Fathers. The spoil being divided, they killed the poor old man almost at the

very moment when I had given him a new birth. During our march to the enemy's country, we had the additional consolation of being together ; and here I witnessed many virtues.

On the way, he was always absorbed in God. His words and conversation were all in perfect submissiveness to the orders of Divine Providence and a voluntary acceptance of the death which God sent him. He offered himself to him as a holocaust, to be reduced to ashes in the fires of the Iroquois, which that good Father should enkindle. In all, and by all, he sought means to please Him. One day—it was soon after our capture—he told me, while still on the way,—'Father! God has always given me a great desire to consecrate myself to His holy service by the vows of religion in His holy Society ; till now, my sins have rendered me unworthy of this grace ; yet I hope that our Lord will accept the offering I wish to make Him now, and to take, in the best manner that I can, the vows of the Society, in the presence of my God and before you.' Having permitted him, he pronounced them with great devotion.

Wounded as he was, he dressed the wounds of others, not only of the prisoners, but even of such of the enemy as had received any wound in the combat. He also bled a sick Iroquois, and did all with as much charity as if he were doing it to his dearest friends.

His humility and the obedience he paid to his captors, confounded me. The Iroquois, who had us both in their canoe, told me to take a paddle and use it. Proud even in death, I would not. Some time after, they told him to do it, and he immediately began to paddle ; but when he perceived that the Indians wished to compel me to do so after his example, he begged my pardon. At times, on the way, I suggested to him thoughts of flight, as the liberty given us afforded him abundant opportunity. For my own part, I could not forsake a Frenchman and twenty-four or five Huron prisoners. He would never do it, resigning himself entirely to the will of our Lord, who inspired him with no such thought.

On the Lake (Champlain), we met two hundred Iroquois, who came to Richelieu, when they began to build the fort ; they covered us with stripes, drenched us, as in blood, and made us experience the rage of men possessed by the

devil. All these outrages and cruelties he endured with great patience and charity for those who ill-treated him.

On entering the first town where we were so cruelly treated, he showed extraordinary patience and mildness. Having fallen under the hail of blows of clubs and iron rods poured on us, and unable to rise, he was carried, as it were, half-dead on the scaffold, where we were already, in the middle of the town, but in so pitiable a state that he would have moved cruelty itself to compassion; he was all livid with bruises, and in his face we could distinguish nothing but the white of his eyes; yet he was the more beautiful in the eyes of angels as he was more disfigured; and like Him of whom it is said, 'We have seen Him as a leper,' &c.; 'There was in Him neither comeliness nor beauty.'

Scarcely had he, or even we, recovered breath, when they came and gave him three blows on the shoulders with a heavy club, as they had done to us. After cutting off a thumb from me as the most important, they turned to him and cut off his right thumb at the first joint. During this cruel operation, he constantly repeated, 'Jesus, Mary, Joseph.' During the six days that we were exposed to all those who chose to maltreat us, he displayed extraordinary mildness; his breast was all burnt by the live coals and ashes which the boys threw on his body when he was tied down on the ground at night. Nature gave me more dexterity than him in escaping some of these pains.

After our life was granted us, just after we had been warned to prepare to be burned, he fell sick in great want of every thing, especially of food, for he was not accustomed to theirs. Here truly it may be said, '*Non cibus utilis ægro.*' I could not relieve him, being also sick, and not having one finger sound, or whole.

But I must hasten to his death, which wants nothing to be that of a martyr.

After we had been six weeks in the country, as confusion arose in the councils of the Iroquois, some of whom were for sending us back, we lost all hope, which in me had never been sanguine, of seeing Three Rivers that year. We consoled one another then at this disposal of Providence, and prepared for all He should ordain in our regard. He did not see the danger we were in so clearly: I saw it better. This made me often tell him to hold himself in readiness. Accordingly, one day when in our mental pain,

we had gone out of the town to pray more becomingly and undisturbed by noise, two young men came after us and told us to return home. I had some presentiment of what was to happen, and told him: "My dear brother, let us recommend ourselves to our Lord and to our good mother the Blessed Virgin, these men have some evil design, as I think." We had a little before offered ourselves to our Lord with much devotion, beseeching him to accept our lives and blood, and unite them to his life and blood for the salvation of these poor tribes. We were returning then towards the town reciting our beads, of which we had already said four decades. Having stopped near the gate of the town to see what they would say, one of these two Iroquois drew an axe which he had hidden under his blanket, and dealt René a blow on the head as he stood before him; he fell stiff on his face on the ground, uttering the holy name of Jesus, for we had often reminded each other to close our voice and life with that holy name. I turned at the blow and seeing the reeking hatchet, fell on my knees to receive the blow that was to unite me to my loved companion, but as they delayed I rose, ran to him, as he lay expiring near me. They gave him two more blows on the head and extinguished life but not before I had given him absolution, which since our captivity, I had given him regularly after his confession every other day.

It was the —— day of September, the feast of St. Michael, that this angel in innocence, and martyr of Christ, gave his life for him, who had given him His. They commanded me to return to my cabin, where I awaited during the rest of the day and the next the same treatment. It was the belief of all that I would not wait long, as they had begun it, and in fact for several days they came to kill me, but our Lord prevented it by ways, which would take long to explain. Early the next morning, I did not fail to start out to inquire where they had thrown that blessed body, for I wished to inter it, cost what it might. Some Iroquois who had a wish to save me, said, "Thou hast no sense; thou seest that they seek thee every where to kill thee, and thou goest out still, thou wilt go to seek a body already half puterfied, which has been dragged far from here. Seest thou not, those young men going out, who will kill thee, when thou art past the palisade." This did not stop me, and our Lord gave me courage enough to be willing to

die in that office of charity. I go, I seek, and by the help of an Algonquin taken, and now a real Iroquois, I find it. After he had been killed, the children had stripped him and tieing a cord around his neck, dragged him to a torrent which runs at the foot of the town. The dogs had already gnawed a part of his thighs. At this spectacle, I could not withhold my tears. I took the body and aided by the Algonquin, I sank it in the water and covered it with large stones, to hide it, intending to return the next day with a spade, when there was no one near and dig a grave and inter it. I thought the body well hidden, but perhaps some one saw us, especially of the youth, and took it up.

The next day as they sought to kill me, my aunt sent me to her field to escape as I think; this compelled me to defer it till the next day. It rained all night so that the torrent was extremely swelled; I borrowed a hoe in another cabin, the better to conceal my design, but on approaching the place, could not find the blessed deposit; I entered the water already quite cold, I go and come, I sound with my feet to see whether the water had not raised and carried off the body, but I saw nothing. How many tears I shed, which fell in the torrent, while I sang as I could the psalms which the church chant for the dead. After all I found nothing, and a woman known to me who passed by, seeing me in trouble, told me, when I asked her whether she did not know what had been done with it, that it had been dragged to the river which is a quarter of a league from there, and with which I was not acquainted. This was false, the young men had taken it up and dragged it to a neighboring wood, where during the fall and winter it was the food of the dog, the crow, and the fox. When I was told in the spring that he had been dragged there, I went several times without finding any thing; at last, the fourth time, I found his head and some half-gnawed bones, which I interred, intending to carry them off, if taken back to Three Rivers as was then talked of. Repeatedly did I kiss them as the bones of a martyr of Jesus Christ.

I give him this title, not only because he was killed by the enemies of God, and his church, in the exercise of an ardent love for his neighbor, putting himself in evident perils for the love of God, but particularly because he was killed for prayer, and expressly for the Holy Cross. He was in a cabin where he prayed daily, which scarcely pleased

a superstitious old man there. One day seeing a little child, three or four years old, in the cabin, from an excess of devotion and a love of the cross, and in a simplicity which we who are more prudent according to the flesh would not have had, he took off his cap and putting it on the child's head made the sign of the cross on his body. The old man seeing it ordered a young man in his cabin, who was starting on a war party, to kill him, and he obeyed the order as we have seen.

The mother of the child herself, in a voyage which I made with her, told me that he had been killed for that sign of the cross, and the old man who had given the order to kill him, invited me one day to his cabin to dinner, but when I made the sign of the cross before beginning, he said: "There is what we hate; that is what we killed thy comrade for, and will kill thee too. Our neighbors, the Europeans, do not make it." Sometimes too as I prayed on my knees in hunting time, they told me that they hated that way of doing, and had killed the other Frenchman for it and would kill me too, when I got back to the village.

I beg pardon of your Reverence for the precipitation with which I write this, and my want of respect in so doing. Excuse me, if you please; I feared to miss this opportunity of discharging a debt I should long since have discharged.

VIII.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR KIEFT TO GOVERNOR DE MONTMAGNY.

"To M. De Montmagny, *Governor of New France.*

"Monsieur, Monsieur:

"I wrote a reply to that which you were pleased to honor me with by Father de Jogues, dated May 15, and I sent it to Fort Orange to deliver it to said F. de Jogues; but he not having returned as expected, it was not immediately sent. This will serve, then, to thank your Excellency for your remembrance of me, which I shall endeavor to return, if it please God to give me an opportunity. I send this through the Northern Section by the English or Monsieur d'Aunay, in order to advise you of the massacre of F. Isaac de Jogues and his companions, perpetrated by the barbarous and inhuman Maquaas, or Iroquois; as also of

their design to surprise you, under color of a visit, as you will see by the enclosed, which, though badly written and spelt, will, to our great regret, give you all the particulars. I am sorry that the subject of this is not more agreeable; but the importance of the affair has not permitted me to be silent. Our minister above carefully inquired of the chiefs of this canaille their reasons for the wretched act, but he could get no answer from them but this, that the said Father had left, among some articles that he had left in their keeping, a devil, who had caused all their corn or maize to be eaten up by worms.* This is all I can at present write to you. Praying God to vouchsafe to guard you and yours from this treacherous nation, and assuring you that I am

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

"WILLIAM KIEFT.

"Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, Nov. 14, 1646."

IX.

LETTER OF JAN LABATIE TO MONSIEUR LA MONTAGNE.

(Enclosed in the foregoing.)

"Praised be God at Fort Orange!

"MONSIEUR, MONSIEUR LA MONTAGNE:

"I have not wished to lose this occasion of letting you know my state of health. I am in good health, thank God, and pray God that it may be so with you and your children.

"I have not much more, but how the French arrived the seventeenth of this month at the Maquaas Fort. This is to let you know how those ungrateful barbarians did not wait till they were fairly arrived at their cabins, where they were stripped all naked, without shirt, only they gave each a pair of drawers to cover decency.

"The very day of their coming they began to threaten

* The allusion here is to Dominee John Megapolensis, to whom the Indians brought some of the books and clothes of the murdered missionary. The friendship existing between this early representative of the Dutch Church in New York and the Catholic missionaries, is one of the most pleasing incidents in this period. To his kind solicitude and subsequent hospitality, two acknowledged that, next to God, they owed their lives. A correspondence was subsequently carried on between them, and the missionaries lost no opportunity of expressing their gratitude to so eminent a benefactor, and the name of this clergyman of the Reformed Dutch Church is deservedly honored by the Catholics of New York.

them, and immediately with fists and clubs, saying: 'You shall die to-morrow! Do not be astonished, we shall not burn you; take courage; we shall strike you with an axe, and put your heads on the palisade, that your brothers may see you yet, when we take them.' You must know that it was only the Bear nation that killed them. Knowing that the Wolf and Tortoise tribes have done all that they could to save their lives, and said against the Bear, 'Kill us first;' but, alas, they are no longer alive. Know, then, that the eighteenth, in the evening, they came to call Isaac to supper. He got up and went away with the savage to the Bear's lodge; as entering the lodge, there was a traitor with his hatchet behind the door. On entering, he split open his head, and at the same time cut off his head and put it on the palisade. The next morning early he did the same with the other, and threw their bodies into the river. Monsieur, I have not been able to know or hear from any savage why they killed them.

"Besides this their envy and enterprise, they are going with three or four hundred men to try and surprise the French, to do the same as they did to the others; but God grant they don't accomplish their design.

"It would be desirable that Monsieur should be warned, but there is no way to do it from here. Monsieur, I have no more to write, but I remain

"Your very humble and affectionate servant and friend,

"JAN LABATIE.*

"Monsieur, I beg you (give) my baisemains (respects) to the Governor.

"Written at Fort Orange, Oct. 30, 1646."

* Labatie was the French interpreter at Albany, and had, with Van Curler, visited the Mohawk castles for the rescue of the missionary in 1642.

IV.

EXTRACT

FROM

CASTELL'S "DISCOVERIE" OF AMERICA,

1644.

REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE

REV. FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE following extract is taken from a small quarto pamphlet, in two books, containing 102 pages, printed in London in the year 1644, entitled "A Short Discoverie of the Coasts and Continent of America from the Equinoctiall Northward, and of the adjacent Isles. By William Castell, Minister of the Gospell at Courtenhall, in Northamptonshire. Whereunto is prefixed the Author's Petition to this present Parliament for the propagation of the Gospell in America, attested by many eminent English and Scottish Divines. And a late ordinance of Parliament for that purpose, and for the better government of the English Plantations there. Together with Sir Benjamin Rudyer's speech in Parliament, 21 Jac. concerning America." The first book contains a general introduction, and separate descriptions of Newfoundland, Nova Francia, New England, New Netherland, Virginia, Florida, Cuba, Hispaniola, and the West India Islands. The second book relates to South America and Mexico.

The author of this little work was a clergyman in the Diocese of Peterborough, whose chief motive appears to have been a desire to convert the savages of America to Christianity. For this purpose, he drew up a petition to Parliament, setting forth the importance of propagating the Gospel in the New World, and the necessity of encouraging the English colonies already planted there, which, with the attestation of several eminent clergymen in London and the Provinces, is prefixed to the pamphlet.

In this petition, Castell, among other arguments, urges that "although some of the Reformed Religion—*English*, *Scotch*, *French*, and *Dutch*—have already taken up their habitations in those parts, yet hath their going thither (as yet) beene to small purpose, for the converting of those nations, either for that they have placed themselves

but in the skirts of *America*, where there are but few natives, (as those of *New England*,) or else for want of able and conscionable ministers, (as in *Virginia*,) they themselves are become exceedingly rude, more likely to turn heathen, than to turn others to the Christian faith." A copy of this Petition is contained in the eighth volume of Churchill's Voyages, pp. 772–775, and another in the first volume of Hazard's Historical Collection of State Papers, pp. 527–532. The extract of the work itself, now reprinted, is also to be found in Churchill's Voyages, volume viii., pp. 739, 740.

Castell's account of "New Netherland," as he styles it, is chiefly interesting by reason of the circumstances under which it was published. Charles I. and the Parliament of England were at that time in open war; and although the English Government had questioned the title of the Dutch to their American province, no steps had been taken in opposition to the Hollanders' settlements, excepting by private enterprise of British subjects in the valley of the Connecticut and its neighborhood. Sir William Boswell, the English Minister at the Hague, suggested, in 1642, that the House of Commons should make some open declaration on the subject, and urged that the English in Connecticut should "not forbear to put forward their plantations, and crowd on—crowding the Dutch out of those places where they have occupied." It was some years, however, before Boswell's advice was fully carried out; and, in the mean time, the House of Commons appears to have taken no exception to Castell's description of New Netherland, as "the Dutch Plantation," nor to his calling in his Petition presented to Parliament, the people whose colonists were settling themselves there, "our best friends the Netherlanders."

NEW NETHERLAND.

As the bounds of *New England* westward, and by the south endeth with the Promontory *Malebare*: so the Dutch plantation beginneth there, and extendeth itself more westward, and more southward toward *Virginia*. Yet was first found out in the yeare 1609 by Master *Henry Hudson* an *Englishman*, imployed by the States of the *Low Countries*, for a discovery in those parts. After which discovery returning to *Amsterdam*, he was next yeare by the Merchants thereof sent forth againe* with a ship furnished with such commodities as were fittest to truck with the Natives, for number far exceeding those of *New England*. The continent upon the Sea-coast from the aforesaid *Malebar* bending a good space to the South-west. And then a little to the North-west hath adjoyning foure Islands *Petakonocke*, *Kotget*, *Christian* and *Block*; whereof the third, *Christian*, is of good note for store of timber, aboundant fowle and fish. Within the Continent lyeth the great River of *Nassaw*, whose first enterance is two miles wide, and for eight miles it continueth very Navigable, but after becommeth shallow. The country adjoyning on either side is very pleasant and fruitfull, inhabited by the *Wapavockes* and *Nalucantos*.

Then followeth River *Siccanamos*, the country whereunto adjoyning is possessed by the *Pequets*, professed enemies to the *English*. Then the River *Virresche* on the

* This is an erroneous statement, so far as Hudson is concerned. A vessel was, indeed dispatched from Amsterdam to the "River of the Mountains," or the North River, in 1610, and she was probably navigated by some of the mariners who had accompanied Hudson in the Half Moon the year before. But Hudson himself never revisited Holland, nor the American territories he had discovered for the Dutch. He sailed from London in the spring of 1610, on his last voyage to the north, and discovered Hudson's Bay, where he perished in the summer of 1611. See *Brodhead's History of New York, I. p.* 42.

West-side whereof bending to the north, lye the *Sequini* and *Novasis*. Between these Nations, and the *Matawaces*, who live by fishing; there lieth an *Archipellagus*, wherein are many islands. On the North side of the *Dutch* Plantation springeth River *Machicham*, called the great *North* River, which running thorow one of the widest parts of that part of the Continent, as yet discovered affordeth convenient habitation for the *Aquamachites*, and the *Manahots* on the East side. For the *Sanachans* and *Tappans* on the westside Neare of this great River, the *Dutch* have built a Castle of great use to them, not only for the keeping under of the Natives adjoyning, but likewise for their more free trading with many of *Florida* who usually come down the river *Canida* and so by land to them. A plaine proofe *Canida* is not far remote.

There is yet another River, not fully discovered, bigger than the former, called the South River; It lyeth westerly by South toward *Virginia;* The enterance into it is very wide, having Cape *May* to the East, and Cape *Hinlopen* to the West, lying about the degrees of 41., and from thence the Sea-coast inclineth by little and little somewhat more than two degrees to the South. A point necessarily to be observed by those who saile into those Seas for avoiding of shelves and sands. The chiefe inhabitance lying on the East side of this River to the East are the *Sicones* and the *Naraticonse*. On the West are the *Minquaans* and *Senenquaans*, and many more.

And now concerning *New Netherlands* convenient temperature, the goodnesse of the soile, or commodities which either Sea or land afford. I need say no more, but that in all these respects it differeth not much from *New England* only I must in these foure things give it the precedency, that the land in general is richer, the fields more fragrant with flowers, the timber longer and therefore more fit for building and shipping, the woods fuller of Bevors, and the Waters of Salmon and Sturgeon.

V.

BROAD ADVICE

TO THE

UNITED NETHERLAND PROVINCES;

GELRELAND.
HOLLAND.
ZEELAND.
UTRECHT.
VRIESLAND.
OVER-YSSEL.
GROENINGEN.

MADE AND ARRANGED, FROM DIVERS TRUE AND TRUSTY MEMOIRS,
BY I. A. G. W. C.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH, FOR THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

BY

HENRY C. MURPHY.

ISAIAH: I., 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, &c.

12. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts?

13. Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.

14. Your new moons and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them.

15. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.

16. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil;

17. Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

18. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.

19. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land;

20. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The original title-page of the following tract reads thus:—

"Breeden-Raedt aende Vereenichde Nederlandsche Provintien, Gelreland, Holland, Zeeland, Wtrecht, Vriesland, Over-Yssel, Groeningen, Gemaeckt ende gestelt uyt diverse ware en waerachtige memorien. Door I. A. G. W. C. *Tot Antwerpen, ghedruct by Francoys Van Duynen, Boeckverkooper by de Beurs in Erasmus*, 1649."

The author's name nowhere appears, and we are therefore left to conjecture on the subject. Judging from the work itself, we may reasonably attribute it to Cornelis Melyn himself, whose cause it so zealously espouses; or to his dictation, as he had returned to Holland, on his banishment from New Netherland, at the time of the publication, and was a native of Antwerp, where it was printed. It is coarse and calumnious, but contains some historical facts, which were within the knowledge of the writer not to be found elsewhere, and, for that reason, deserves preservation in its present new form. What the writer states beyond his personal knowledge is of little authority.

H. C. M.

Brooklyn, *Sept.*, 1856.

BROAD ADVICE,

OR

DIALOGUE ABOUT THE TRADE OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY, ETC.

BETWEEN

A.—ALFONSO, *a Portuguese Soldier, serving the Company in Brazil.*
B.—BOUWEN KRYNSSEN, *Skipper.*
C.—CHARLES, *a Student from Sweden.*
D.—DOMINGO, *a Spanish Barber.*
E.—STEPHEN DE CHEFNE, *a French Merchant.*
F.—FAUST, *a Neapolitan.*
G.—GOVERT, *a poor English Nobleman.*
H.—HANS CHRISTOPHER, *a High-Dutch Gentleman.*
J.—JUD. HANS VAN SCHOONEN, *Boatswain.*
K.—KONRAD POPOLSKI.

B. WELL, comrades, though I am the last to come aboard, I am bold to be the first to ask how will we pass away the time on the way, while we are thus in a ship? is it by playing cards?

A. Although I speak bad Dutch, yet, as we are strangers, let us hear the news from one another.

C. There I am also *elogieert.* Is that good Hollandish, shipmate?

D. That does very well. *Yo non puedo mais, ha, ha, he!*

E. *Mon Dieu!* Here people are brought together to talk. We shall interpret each other.

F. *Bon jorno Signoresi, par il amor di dios,* that will be a ridiculous talk.

G. Wait a little. I will come by and by, as soon as my knapsack is off.

H. Why the devil don't these ragamuffins let me rest?

J. I have conversed with Hollanders so long, that they will talk much before it will trouble me.

K. It is good to drive away melancholy.

B. It cannot fail of our having some news, when we come together from such foreign quarters. But you, Senor Alfonso, what brings you from Brazil? Who has advised you so foolishly, that you should abandon your own country, which was so victorious, and enter our service?

A. Shall I tell some news first? May I speak freely the truth?

ALL. Yes! Yes!

B. Why not?

A. Well, I will. You Hollanders, do you not reproach our nation that they are traitors and rebels?

B. Yes; it is not otherwise, according to what is made known to me, and as it appears from this treacherous revolt.

A. I do not take that to myself, for I am yet a servant of the Company. I will therefore speak the more freely of it.

B. Were it otherwise, speak freely, else we cannot comprehend.

A. All the mischief happens to you from your own nation, who have brought you into this labyrinth. For who has sold Cape St. Augustine? Was not Hoogstraten himself a Hollander? And the captain of the horse, Ley, Captain Hicq. and his brother, with Alberto Giraldo Wedda? Who have not regarded the advices of the revolt? Are they not the Supreme Council itself? Who have administered justice badly in Brazil? Are they not your own Council? Who have given so much credit, and handed over all the means to the Signors and those who, by the contracts, have drawn for the four million of guilders in money and effects, besides the eight millions of guilders which the inhabitants of Brazil were indebted to the Company, whereby they have hitherto carried on the war against the Company? Are they not your own Council? Who are they whom the High Council have suffered to go unpunished, after they were convicted of robberies, murders, and acts of treason? Are they

not here in this country those who, directly or indirectly, obstruct the laws, or who, on the other hand, have not as yet punished these villains as they should have done?

Who are they who promised to maintain the people who have settled in Brazil under the decree of the year 1630, and do not now aid them as they should do; or, on the other hand, do not terminate their misery? Who, whenever succor is devised, know how so to arrange the necessities, that no benefit can be derived from it?

Who are they who, when only the smallest number of troops in Brazil went out to reconnoitre, gave intelligence of it to the enemy, at what they were designed, what would be the expense, and how strong they were? As in the last attack on the Cararapes, a certain ensign having hid himself and his company of nineteen men in a morass, applied to the Supreme Council for assistance, in order that he and his company might be saved, and no sooner was the application made at the Reciff, than intelligence of it was sent from the Reciff to the enemy. As to which, when afterwards the ensign came to the Reciff and related circumstantially to the Supreme Council what had passed, it has been told to us for the truth, that the President said, "One of us four, then, must be a villain; for the letter of the ensign was communicated only to the four members of the Supreme Council." That person could not, indeed, have been a Portuguese, but of necessity must have been a Netherlander.

Further, who has so annoyed the inhabitants at Maranhon, that they have been compelled to protect themselves by desperate means? Was it not your director, Peter Janson Bas, the Maranhon murderer, who put twenty-four Portuguese in a boat, and, through his cousin and secretary, Negentoon, sent them adrift in the country of the Brazilians at Commenecij, where they were all cruelly murdered by the Brazilians, except one man who was saved?

Finally, who has so badly managed at Angola that the whole country was suddenly surrendered? Are they not the Netherland managers who were entrusted with the command?

Who has sold St. Thomas? Was it not your own commander? And yet they will cry out that our nation are the traitors, and charge them with all the mischief. What think you, friends, had Master Bouwen no reason to ask me what had caused me to forsake the victorious side of the Portu-

guese in Brazil? Had I understood the government of the Company as well before as I did afterwards, I should have well considered the matter four times.

E. Our nation, indeed, do not say much good of the Hollanders on this same matter and other bygone histories. Truly, the Rochellois ascribe all their trouble to the Hollanders, and principally to the deceased Admiral, Heer van Haultain. But it seems that God has hitherto listened to them who have now after a long time begun to open their eyes.

J. Well, Mons. Estienne, you have learned to talk Hollandish very quickly.

B. While you people are holding conversation, I am thinking what I, in return for this Portuguese dish, may rub in his beard. I certainly cannot swallow it, though what he says is true, when he hatchels our nation so. But, nevertheless, Senor Alfonso, I ask you, as Hoogstraten has sold the Cape, to whom has he sold it? Is it not to the Portuguese, and especially to those of Bahia? Who has given him the charge of Coronel? Is it not the Governor of Bahia? Who has given the orders to the rebellious chiefs? Whence are the salaries drawn? In whose name are the forts demanded? Are they not all in the name and in behalf of Don John the Fourth, King of Portugal? Who have planned, promoted, set to work, and, from time to time, supported this revolt? Are they not all from Bahia, and hence from all Portugal, and almost all the Portuguese who dwell in Netherland Brazil, a few of that nation excepted? The banners from the Cape, from Zerinhaein, from Porto Calvo, from Rio St. Francisco, and those which were taken at the mill of Tourlon and at the Cararapes in the three battles, are they not hung up in Bahia in triumph? And so much as relates to those fraudulent contracts which you enlarge upon so, have not the Portuguese senors and the contractors brought them about by their rascally presents? We know well what such presents can accomplish towards the injury of a whole republic, much more of so innocent a Company, whose regents have always so attended to their particular profit that generally the community have suffered damage thereby.

Who knows what is going on, even at this day, here in Holland? What does the Portuguese ambassador here any longer, except, as a spy, to feel the pulse of one and another? And in the meanwhile so hinder what would be advantageously done for Brazil and other places, as either to prevent it

entirely, or at least, to prevent it from being done in time; or, if it be timely done, it so happens that it is known in Portugal and obviated before it is undertaken here. And though Hooghstraten and Champfleury, with more like them, have forgotten their fatherland, their own souls, and salvation, besides their honor and oaths, they are bribed thereto like Judases by the Portuguese. So that in this there is a greater fault in your nation than in ours, for what is done by ours is done by seduction, but that which is done by yours is done by design, in order to rob, steal, murder, and commit every other crime which can be thought of, and that almost in cold blood.

Besides, other correspondence was held at the Reciff, was it not with the Portuguese? Is that treasonable? How can your nation be excused of this, who built it up? And, if the seller of St. Thomas was a Netherlander (which I do not know), who was the buyer? Were they not Portuguese, yea, most all the Portuguese who live there, from the least to the greatest inclusive? So that I can, against one villain from our nation, set off a dozen, yea, a hundred or more, from your nation. But every one may carry his own burdens and villainies until he chokes under them, before I shall ever help him.

H. In our country there was formerly a pious citizen, of whom a dame complained that she had let him treat her improperly; and when the citizen said to the court that he had had such intercourse with her, a heavy find was imposed upon both of them. So will it be done with these, for they are both equally guilty, and they will equally be taxed and shorn.

A. As to what you, Mr. Bouwen, say of Portuguese robbery, thievery, and murdering, I will set off against them the wicked murder of twenty-four Portuguese, who, sent from the Marahan, landed at Commassy, and were killed by the Brazilians or Cabocolos. Also, the horrible massacre at Conhau, for what can be imagined more cruel than that they should call the inhabitants together for the purpose of proposing something to them, and when they are assembled fall upon them, when they had no weapons at all with them, and massacre them!

But your godless Netherlanders have therein done the wickedest that could be devised. Tell me once, is it not true that in Rio Grande a public resolution was taken by the heads of the government, signed by the Schout, Schepens,

and the Council of War, to massacre twelve prisoners and the sixty inhabitants, who, being unarmed, could do no harm? If this were deemed cruel by your nation, why are they not punished who did it? Why do they suffer no punishment who have connived at it, and have failed to be punished? It happened in this massacre that a certain little girl, from eight to ten years of age, was not willing to be separated from her father, who was brought out to be massacred, and when her father was killed, went and sat upon his dead body, crying "O! matta mi tambem"—*O! kill me also with my father*,—which did not happen according to her wish; but, nevertheless, that lamb was robbed of all her clothing, in the same manner as after that all the widows and orphans who were left by those who were killed were despoiled, and as afterwards the Portuguese who revolted were sent away.

Can you Hollanders digest all this in your conscience, without providing for some mode of justice therefor? Or is your justice tied?

B. This man contends like an enemy for his side; should he with better heart serve on ours, when he has so many reasons to the contrary? It is cruel. I know not what I shall say of that business. The truth lies in the grave. But do you know, Alfonso, that your countrymen are not as they ought to be where they can play the master; that they hung up by the legs the youth of Rio Grande, and on occasion shot them; that the prisoners were led out by pairs, and murdered in cold blood; that they cut off the private parts of some and stuck them in their mouths, and left them lying a vile spectacle. Yes, they chopped off the hands of some, and the Portuguese cavaliers presented them to their mistresses, saying, "See what white hands these dogs have." I would have a year's task, were I to relate all the cruelties which they have perpetrated. Some were found dead with thirty, twenty, and ten wounds, more or less; and how can they not be more mad at us, than they had been before this at their own Portuguese for debts only. For you know, indeed, that Diego da Raujo let strips be cut out of the body of his *laborador da farinha*, and let him, thus cut, be bitten by the mosquitoes and gnats for a whole day, and after that sprinkled him with lemons and Brazil pepper. Also Roderigo de Barros sawed a leg off of his slaves for the least fault that can be mentioned. ✿ ✿ ✿ ✿

What would they then not do to us, whom they regard as open enemies?

A. What I could say against your people here is unspeakable. Has not Lybargen suspended persons by the feet, and burned their feet with hot irons, so that they have been compelled to go all their lives upon crutches? And was he not helped away to Brazil by Mr. Carpentier and Secretary Jacob Hamel, when these matters were discovered, and that he must suffer therefor, because he had married the daughter of the Advocate Hamel, and niece of the Supreme Councilor Hamel, who concerned themselves about it so that no disgrace might fall upon their family, as once happened at the Hague to another fine brother of their name and kin, and as was told to us for the truth in Brazil. Something of this is to be seen in the public registers.

That must not appear so strange to you, as it appears to be customary here for notorious people to be admitted into public office. How many have there been in Brazil, whom we have known in the principal offices, who were bankrupts of low origin and full of all kinds of vices? Are there not persons employed in the courts of justice who have committed murder even while they were officers of justice, namely, Volbergen, Delinge, and Peter Jansen Bas, who sent twenty-five Portuguese from the Maranhan, who, innocent, were murdered at Commassy? As I hear, these men will obtain in this country offices in the public mint or elsewhere. And Delinge, who has committed such a public murder at Parayba on the person of Hans Styger, whom he killed from behind, as he stood making water. And what was the political councilor, Van der Voorde? Was he not the betrayer of Porto Calvo, although it miscarried?

And the traitor Champfleury, who afterwards sold Porto Calvo, was he not coming to Holland to be provided with a company? What advantage has Torquinus, at present, who compelled my brother-in-law, Francisco Carneiro, in Pojouca, to give so many cases of sugar, who was thereby excused for some time from making payment to the Company? Does he not say that he had been made, by their High Mightinesses, fiscal over the States soldiers in Brazil, and, by his Highness, receiver of the three per cents. This man's corruption may be seen in the secret notules, in what

the advocate-fiscal has caused to be charged on the 28th of August, 1643, against him; and it will be found that this man as well becomes such an administration as a pickpocket a silver-cloth doublet.

F. Let us stop here a spell. Are you able to speak here so freely all those things of which you have made mention? Friends, I will have no part in what is said. I am a stranger in the country, and know not its customs. I will rather sleep.

G. I never heard such talk. The world is turned; the boy is master. Although I speak crooked Dutch, I can understand well. It is now two years since two brave citizens, shipwrecked in the Channel, passed through England, who came from New Netherland, and I have not in all my life heard the like as these men told us of the directors whom they have there.

B. Well, I have just come from thence, and have brought over a number of people in my ship who will complain of the present directors and some of the government.

K. Well, let us drive away melancholy. It is a hard word that cannot be spoken, and an impossible deed which cannot be done. Schipper, proceed, what kind of country is New Netherland?

B. New Netherland is one of the finest countries which lie under the sun, with all kinds of fruits, vegetables and trees; several fine rivers; fish are caught there in abundance in every diversion, to salt, to dry, to fry, to boil, but principally to eat and to sell. There are also already many tame cattle, and deer more than the inhabitants are able to kill. In short, there is every thing there in sufficiency. Birds, wild and tame, to overflowing. The wine-grape grows wild; onions also grow wild; chestnuts, mulberries, plums, medlars, wild cherries, currants, gooseberries, hazel nuts, small apples, strawberries, kraakberries, blueberries, earthnuts, artichokes in the ground, and more, similar to them, all grow wild. Besides, all that we have in Europe will grow there freely.

F. What latitude have you there, Master?

B. That's a seaman's question;—38, 39, 40, 41, 42 degrees along the coast.

F. That's a good climate, I believe you say, also. But what business is there?

B. Ho, ho, wish you so? I was forbidden by my master to tell that. You are also a merchant to make such an inquiry. I would not mention it, unless I knew that you intended to send cargoes there and obtain returns, then would I make a good talk about it with Senor. But we are now away from our subject.

F. Well, what subject, to be hauled up by one and another, by the tail?

B. Yes; were it fishing, I would haul it up by the head; but as their doings stink too much, I can take hold of no other end.

F. I preceive that you are one of the sea-jokers. What for governors have you there, and what are they doing? I preceive that you wish to speak of them.

B. First we had, before this present time, one William Kieft, born in Amsterdam, brought up from his youth as a merchant, who, having attended to his own and his master's business a long time at Rochelle, or neglected it, failed. Whereupon, his portrait, according to the custom there, was fastened upon the gallows, as several witnesses, still living, who have seen it with their own eyes, can testify. Being a long time out of business, this man was employed to redeem some captive Christians in Turkey. The money was entrusted to this bankrupt; and he went and released some, for whom the least was to be paid; but others, whose friends had contributed the most money, he let stay there, for whom their parents and friends were compelled once more to furnish money. This fine brother was appointed by the managers director over the inhabitants and trade of New Netherland, in the year 1637.

H. That is truly trusting the cheese to the cat.

B. The gentleman may well say that; but the bewinthebbers (managers) being for the most part merchants, knew how to strike a blow where it was not closely to be looked into.

F. I can imagine that, if you will say that merchants are not adapted to government. Tell that once at Amsterdam on the Exchange.

B. That is not exactly my meaning, for I know well that they understand how to govern by sea according to their wishes; why should they not be able to do so also on land?

H. Can there be traced out on the sea, where the ships sail, with all their courses?

ALL. Ha, ha, ha!

B. Why do you laugh so? Don't you know for what purpose this gentleman asks that? He will then say, that the ways of merchants, their orders, charter parties, monopolies, contrabands, and what more similar matters there are on the deep, unfathomable sea, cannot be traced out as easily as one can govern on land. So that if any profligate merchants are entrusted with the government of a country, the sceptre of power cannot be wielded blamelessly, as Brazil, Angola, St. Thomas, and Guinea, have all for some years experienced. But the worst is, that as soon as any profit is to be derived, the largest merchants envy the smaller, not being willing for any others to enjoy it with them; and especially, whenever they can, use the power of government, under any pretence, so that all the fat may drip into the kettle of some few of them: what schemes do they then contrive? And whenever it serves their purpose to fail, no man would believe how they then, man and horse, know how to invent and spread a good report around, and then have another, who is the least a loser, or whom they most favor, dexterously to cover up their bad doings, like as the foxes at the North let themselves fall in the water in order not to be any longer bitten by the fleas; or to screen all manner of roguery, so that the credit of their goods and fortune sustain no injury, as will hereafter clearly be shown. They are the shrewdest merchants who best know how to avoid their losses, if not by cheating or smartness, then by force.

F. You know well that you must live by the merchants, Skipper; how prate you, then, thus of the merchants?

B. The merchants cannot do without us; and the devil's mate might serve the merchants. If one could not have justice against their indiscreet courses, he would be worse than a slave.

F. You abandoned your former discourse about your Director Kieft.

B. That happened so between us both, in a measure, after it was proper in the discourse. The merchants are very good in the government when they are selected; but then they must be of acute understanding, and have honest

guardians besides to overlook them, and by a proper discretion to enlarge and curtail their power as may be convenient.

Kieft thus being made director, had now a path wherein, with good appearance and without being subject to much being said, he could have acquired honor and distinction. And it went along so for a long time, until some of the mayors in the Fatherland, that is, managers, envying the colonies and their founders that they prospered any, wrote to him that, in order to take some of their profits from them, he would institute suits against them, and reckon half a fault for a whole one.

J. Well, upon my soul, that was enough to set the whole country in an uproar. Who durst write that?

B. If it were material, I could name man and horse (my author); but that is not necessary.

C. We must drive this thick nail in the beam and stop that floodgate, for it is all too bad. It pipes of the flutes, for there is already so much said under the rose: we should, without much doubt, if it were true that what you say was written there, have heard long ago who had dared sign such letters, without its being brought out so. Skipper, those fellows knew well if that came out that they would be dead men, if justice were done them. I therefore consider that writing a fable.

B. I tell you, in truth, it is no fable; and I therefore repeat, that I am able to name the author in one and the same breath.

H. Why, was it not said by your ancestors, that one may freely say what is true? It fails me to suspect who they are.

B. As you so strongly insist upon it, I will do it; though, as you do not know the person, I otherwise deem it unnecessary. Isaac van Beeck, Mr. Parkins, and Edward Man wrote them, as Commissaries of New Netherland.

G. The last two, whom Mister Bouwen mentions, are the most honest men in the world, as I know.

B. In this matter, however, they were not honest people.

A. Were the second one, whom you have named, in Brazil, the soldiers would quickly make way with him.

D. Why?

A. It was told us in Brazil, that he, being a commissary in the year 1647 to send arms to Brazil, observed such care thereof, that when they used them, both before the enemy and in exercise, they burst from ten to twenty at a time, about the heads of the soldiers.

E. Was there no complaint of this in Holland?

A. Would not Manager Van Els and another captain have both told us, that before they went to sea, all the muskets which were already burst were brought to his Highness?

C. If any one dared to manage so in our country, it would cost him his life.

J. Our king would consider it treason.

E. It is not to be interpreted otherwise, disguise it as you may.

G. The devil take the rogues, if that be true.

H. That is coarsely spun. I do not sell my skin to the Hollanders if they cheat so. These fellows did not play such tricks a second time!

A. I have seen the muskets bursted, not once, but several times. As to the rest, one may guess from this whether they burst.

E. But Van Beeck, after I knew him, was certainly a pious man. He had before this sat in the Consistory at Amsterdam, and may still be in it.

B. He is one of the Heaven-thieves, who, under the cloak of piety, are worse than poison. He knew of the murder and of Kieft's proceedings, who so blinded him and others, that no wickedness of Kieft could be so great but it was excused by him and those like him. Kieft, then, being thus written to by those who had command over him, to spring upon those who were under his command, for half as for whole offences, was eager now the more to pursue the course; but, in the meanwhile, he was so careless in regard to his masters, that he let ten or twelve persons of the commonalty see the letters, in order to frighten them therewith, for otherwise no one would have known of them.

H. When such a rascal or bankrupt has gone so far, then must it be that another sustains him. That I understand very well.

E. It is not clear that it so happens. These people forget our French proverb—

**Main droit et bouche
Peut aller par tout le monde.** } monde.

**A civil mouth and spotless hand
Can travel over every land.**

What did this Director Kieft do further? I had formerly seen his portrait on the gallows at Rochelle, so I guess not much property followed him here.

B. Passing by divers trifling abuses, I proceed to the peculations which tend to the ruin of the whole country. Be it known, then, that he had a long time nourished in his own bosom the design of making war upon the Indians of New Netherland, because they had refused him certain contributions, which they had done for reasons, saying that they did not consider themselves bound to contribute, to the director or the Netherlanders:

1. Not for the purpose of maintaining the soldiers, as they did them no service when they were engaged in war with other tribes; that they then crept together like cats upon a piece of cloth, and could be killed a thousand times before any tidings could come to the fort, which was situated far from them, much less could they be rescued by the soldiers, or seconded in time by them.

2. Further, that they had allowed our countrymen to take possession of the country peaceably; that they had never demanded any thing for it; and that we were indebted to them for that reason, and not they to us.

3. Item, that when our people, having lost a certain ship there, had built another new ship, they had assisted our people with provisions and all kinds of necessaries, and had taken care of them for two winters, until the ship was finished, for which we were indebted to them, and not they to us.

4. Wherefore, they asked, for what reason should they give our people maize for nothing, when they paid for every thing which they came to buy of us, as much as we asked?

5. We have, said they, given you the land where you live, but we remain masters of that which we retain for ourselves.

Have we not, then, *Swannekens* (that is, Dutch, or Hollanders), when you first came here, and had no *mochols* (that is to say, ships), furnished you victuals for two winters

through, when, without that, you must have perished with hunger?

The delegates from all the Indian tribes, namely, the Raritans—whose chief they called Oringkes, after Orange,—the Hacquinsacks, the Wappenas, the Highlanders, Wicquasgecks, Reckewacki, Mereckewacks, Tappanders, Massapeins, Zinceuw, and others, had as many sticks as they had points to debate, which they laid down there one by one. Director Kieft seeing himself deprived, by so many reasons, of the contributions for which he was very greedy, and that it was disgracing him with our people, carefully meditated by what means he might satisfy his insatiable avarice.

E. Well, Skipper, how did that end?

B. At this time, anno 1643, about Shrovetide, these Indians were surprised by some other tribes (who were too strong for them) and compelled to retreat. They came to shelter themselves amongst us, not thinking that they had any treachery to expect from us. About this same time, there was a shroving feast at the house of Jan Janssen Damen, at which the director, in a significant toast, made known his meditated design against the Indians to three inconsiderate boors, to wit, Maryn Adriænsz, Jan Jansz Damen, and Abraham Plancq, who presented to him a petition prepared by Secretary Tienhoven, asking, inasmuch as the Indians before that time had shot a certain servant of Mr. Van Nederhost, and no reparation or punishment had been made for the act, that he would now avenge it, in order to maintain the reputation of our nation.

K. Was that so?

B. I will tell you, Sir. A certain Hacquinsack Indian chief, who was not considered very sensible by the Indians themselves, was made drunk with brandy by our people, and being asked whether he in such condition could use his bow and arrow, in reply bent his bow upon a certain man named Gerrit Jansz, a servant of the late Mr. Van Nederhorst, and shot him dead, and then asked whether he was able. Several Indians were killed in revenge for this man, and peace was made with the Indians. So that at the date when the director ordered the massacre, the very tribe which had killed the servant of the late Mr. Van Nederhorst, had been staying some weeks among the Dutch, and were supplied by the director with every thing necessary. Thus the pretext was entirely false.

K. Was it, then, in one man's power to undertake for that reason war or murder?

B. That it might have some plausibility, a petition for it was presented; whereupon a letter was written on the 25th of February, 1643, to the effect that Maryn Adriænsen was authorized, at his request, to perform an exploit with his company, against the Indians living behind Curler's plantation, and to treat them as he found convenient, but according to time and circumstances.

E. Who ever gave such a letter? Who was the writer of it?

B. Secretary Cornelis van Tienhoven, who has now come home in order to make a report concerning New Netherland. He also had prepared the petition.

C. A child would have seen that this was a mere sham. This secretary deserved to be torn to pieces by four horses, as traitors are; and these three boors had, according to law, forfeited their lives. Were the people who were settled in the country warned to be on their guard, that no injury might befal them by resistance or assistance?

B. Nobody in the world, except the three heretofore named. The people settled in the country were not once thought of. The secretary himself went where the Indians were, the day before, to spy them out; and if the people of the farm lands had known that such was the intention, and there had been reason for it, not one of all the Indians would have escaped; or if there had been no reason for it, as there was not, the director could not have perpetrated such a murder, though he had had ten such treacherous secretaries.

J. As well as I can see into the business, the secretary was the principal cause of the consequences. But how did they do then?

B. Between the 25th and 26th of February, 1643, at night, over eighty Indians were massacred at Pavonia by eighty soldiers, where young children were snatched from their mothers' breasts, and cut to pieces in sight of the parents, and the pieces thrown into the fire and into the water; other sucklings were bound to wooden boards, and cut, stuck, or bored through, and miserably massacred, so that a heart of stone would have been softened. Some were thrown into the river, and when the fathers and mothers endeavored to rescue them, the soldiers would not let them come ashore again, but caused both old and young to be drowned. Chil-

dren, five or six years old, and also some old, decrepid people, as many of them as had escaped this fury and secreted themselves in the bushes and reeds, when they came forth in the morning to beg a piece of bread and to warm themselves against the cold, were murdered in cold blood, and pushed into the water or into the fire. Some came running past our people living on the farms, with their hands cut off; others had their legs cut off. Some carried their bowels in their arms; others had such horrible cuts, hacks, and wounds, that the like can never have happened elsewhere. And these poor people, and also many of our nation, did not know any better than that other Indians, the Maquas, had surprised them. After this exploit, the soldiers were recompensed for their services, and thanked by Director Kieft, by shaking of hands and congratulations.

At another place, at Corlor's Hook, near Corlor's plantation, on the same night, forty Indians were surprised in their sleep in the same manner, and massacred in the same way.

D. Has the Duke of Alba done more evil in the Netherlands?

F. Certainly you have such Netherland governors or directors, as the Duke of Alba might yield in reputation to them.

B. Yes, Sir. It is a disgrace to our nation, and it behooved me to have kept it secret, if keeping it secret would have remedied it. But they have been written to there concerning it; yet it not only has not been remedied, but it has gone on worse, as you will hear presently.

H. Did the Indians let this go so?

B. Oh no, Sir. As soon they were aware that the Swannekens had treated them so, they killed all the men on the farm lands whom they could surprise; but, as to the women and children, we have never heard that they did them any harm. Besides, they burned all the houses, farms, barns, stacks of grain, and destroyed every thing that they could come at, so that they began an open and destructive war.

C.—

Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.

What kings and princes madly say,
That must their suffering subjects pay.

B. I have been told for a truth that a certain skipper,

named Isaac Abrahamsen, having saved a little boy in a sail-boat and hidden him under the sail, in order to present him to one Cornelis Melyn, and the child having, through cold and hunger, made himself heard by the soldiers, eighteen German tigers dragged him from under the sail in spite of the skipper, who could not, alone, save him against eighteen, cut him in two, and threw the pieces overboard.

F. But how did it please the inhabitants?

B. They were not only greatly dissatisfied, but they took notes of what passed from time to time; for those on the farm lands were all ruined, and there was little provision and little strength in the fort. These they wrote to the Fatherland, and related the cause and occasion of this war, with all the circumstances, as they had happened.

J. How did you manage in the mean time, before an answer came back?

B. We were indeed compelled to choose one of two evils. Then the director allowed ravaging and robbing where he could, and in the year 1643 and 1644, full sixteen hundred Indians were slain in the war in the manner before related, some of whom were settled ten to twenty miles,* and more, off from us under the English, and were most all surprised in the night while asleep, some of whom had never seen any Dutch in their lives, much less done them any harm.

In April, 1644, seven Indians were arrested by the English on the great plain which is called Hempstead,—where Mr. Fordham, an English minister, had the rule,—because they had killed a hog or two of his, which was afterwards found to have been done by his own countrymen. Director Kieft being advised by Mr. Fordham that he had seven Indians under arrest, in a cellar, whom he dared not treat cruelly, because it could not be justified to his own people,—for such treatment will not be permitted there,—or also because his nation rather sought to create a general discontent among the Indians towards our governors, he immediately sent there Ensign Opdyck, with John Underhill, an Englishman, and fifteen or sixteen soldiers, who killed three of the seven in the cellar, and took four with them in the sail-boat, two of whom, with ropes tied round their necks, were thrown overboard and fastened to the boat, and in that manner were

* Dutch measure.

towed after it and drowned. Two were taken prisoners to Fort Amsterdam, where, having been kept a long time in the guard-house, the director became tired of providing them food any longer; and the soldiers being at variance, to whom this booty belonged, about going with it to Holland, he gave these poor naked Indian prisoners over to them, in order to cool off their insolence. They immediately dragged them out of the guard-house by the arms and legs, and attacked them with knives from eighteen to twenty inches long, which Director Kieft had caused to be made expressly for such purposes, saying that the swords were too long to be used in the huts of the Indians when they wanted to surprise them, but these knives could be more handily plunged into their bowels. The first of these Indians having received, before the guard-house, a horrible wound from such a knife, wished them to let him *Kinte-Kaeye*,—being a dance, performed by them as a religious rite *—but he received so many wounds, one upon another, that he forgot the Kinte-Kaeye, and dropped down dead upon the spot. The soldiers cut strips from the live body of the other, from the hams, up the back and shoulders, and down to the knees. Whilst this thong-cutting was going on, Director Kieft stood by, in presence of his counsellor, Jan le Montaigne, a Frenchman, and laughed right heartily, rubbing his right arm and laughing out loud, such delight had he in the work. He then ordered him, thus cut, to be dragged out of the fort, whence this poor, naked, simple creature went *Kinte-Kaeying* all the way. The soldiers, going with him to the beavers' path, threw him down, and stuck his private parts, which they had cut off, into his mouth while he was still alive, and after that placed him on a mill-stone and beat his head off.

H. What murder that was!

B. What I say is true. By the same token, there stood at the time twenty-four or twenty-five Indian women at the north-west angle of the fort, who, seeing this spectacle, threw up their hands, beat their mouths, and said in their language, "Shame,—what foul and unspeakable villainy this is; such was never heard of, or seen, or happened among us." The Indians have frequently during the war called out to us

* Denton, in his "Brief Description of New York," describes this dance under the name of Cantica. The term is one of the few Indian words adopted by the whites, and is still in use among our old inhabitants to designate a dancing frolic. It is by them pronounced "Canticoy."

from a distance, "What scoundrels you Swannekens are! you war not against us, but against our innocent women and children, whom you murdered; while we do your women and children no harm, but give them to eat and drink, yea, treat them well and send them back to you:" as, in truth, it had happened that our children, who were taken prisoners by the Indians, on being returned to their parents would hang round the necks of the Indians, if they had been with them any length of time.

K. Well, Skipper, you have more news, though little of it good, than all of us together. How did it progress?

B. Director Kieft not being content with thus causing the fugitive Indians to be surprised, sent certain English spies with soldiers, as guides, in order to point out the places which were unknown to us, where the Indians were living, by which means many poor, unoffending Indians were foully and treacherously massacred.

G. What pay did the guides have for that service?

B. By the journey, according to the amount of booty taken,—sometimes 80, 100, to 200 guilders.

E. Well, what booty was there to take from these poor Indians?

B. Belts of zeewan, bows and arrows, sometimes beaver skins, but few to signify.

E. What importance was that?

B. It cannot reduce the expenses of the war; and indeed, if there were any thing to tempt robbery, it was not worth enough—all the booty which was obtained—to cause a gallows to be erected for a thief, if one had stolen it, much less to carry on such a hazardous war.

F. How did your director manage with the inhabitants under these circumstances?

B. He began to introduce tolls, excises, and imposts, in order to obtain the means for the war, to which proceedings they were all opposed. Eight men, chosen from the people, understanding that Kieft, in his letter to the XIX.,* endeavored to shift the origin and cause of the war upon the people, have sent a second letter to the Chamber of Amsterdam, wherein every thing is particularly stated, which letter was signed by these persons, namely, Joachim Pietersz-Keuyter, an elder of the Church, Cornelis Melyn, Isaac Al-

* The nineteen managers of the West India Company.

lerton, Jacob Stoffelsz: Gerrit Wolfertz: Thomas Hall, Jan Evertsz-Bout, and Barent Dircksz:

E. Was there nothing done?

B. Yes; the managers before-mentioned, with whom he corresponded so intimately, sent him back a copy, and made known to him what persons had written, and what they had written; whereupon he meditated every means to revenge himself upon these persons, and by all kinds of pretexts and violence to discharge himself of those things laid to his charge.

A. That same work happened also in Brazil?

C. Whoever goes once beyond the limits of modesty, is generally stout in his immodesty.

D. He must have been a wicked man.

E. Had he any religion?

B. Ravens' religion, who rob whatever falls in their way. What religion could be expected in a man who, from the 3d January, 1644, to 11th May, 1647, has never wished to hear God's word, or to partake of Christian sacraments, doing every thing to keep from Church all those who depended upon him? His godless example was thus followed by his fiscal, Cornelis van der Hoyckens, and his counsellor, Jan de la Montaigne, who was formerly an elder, Ensign Gisbert de Leeuw, Cornelis van Tienhoven, his secretary, Deacon Oloff Stevensz: and Gysbrecht van Dyck, besides various minor officers and servants of the company, down to the soldiers inclusive, who all did not attend the administration of the Lord's Supper, or even the meetings to hear God's word. He permitted the officers and soldiers to perform all kinds of noisy plays during the sermon, near and around the church, rolling ninepins, bowling, dancing, singing, leaping, and other profane exercises. Yes, even the members who came in the fort* to celebrate the Lord's Supper, were scoffed at by this rabble, saying, "There they go again; they will give them a piece of bread to drink once thereto, and then sing and frolick." By this scoffing, difficulties have frequently arisen. During the preparatory sermon, Director Kieft often let the drum beat. The minister, Bogardus, requesting that the drum might be beaten a little further off, so as not to disturb the congregation, was answered that the drummer must go where the director had ordered him. The cannon was discharged sev-

* The church was built within the fort.

eral times during the sermon, as if he had ordered it for the purpose of going a-Maying, so that a miserable villainy against God's church was perpetrated in order to disturb the congregation. In the new church, which was built in the year 1642 by collections from the people, and roofed in the year 1643, there could have been preaching from that time to the year 1647, when Director Stuyvesant came. He has also often said to his own adherents, in substance, "Now the minister shall dispense the Lord's Supper again, and there shall scarcely come a man and a half or one horse's face. They will all follow us, and every one of them remain out."

E. What was the cause of his making such bravados?

B. The cause of this director's crooked proceedings against the worship of God besides his own perverseness and the devil's, and the instigations of evil people, was, externally, because the minister, the late Everhardus Bogardus, many times in his sermons freely expressed himself against the horrible murders, covetousness, and other gross excesses. The director reported falsely of the minister that he was drunk in the pulpit, so that the minister was compelled to take the affidavits of the people to the contrary, in order to use them as occasion required; and also said that the minister rattled only old wives' stories, drawn out from a distaff; that he was a great cackler, who spoke without tolerating contradiction; and that he was a seditious man, who sought nothing else than to excite people and the servants of the company against him, who was their sovereign ruler. That Elder Joachim Pieterz: Keuyter, because he stood by the minister, was an assassin; wherefore, by the director's means, no consistory was assembled for two or three years, as no more than the minister and one elder were left, who did not dare to hold the consistory, as was sufficiently endeavored to be done afterwards, in order to cast a slur upon the body, and say, that they organized the consistory on private authority. It was said that the wickedness of the director extended so far, and he had so far forgotten himself, and his flatterers so well agreed with him, that he gave himself no concern either about God or man. Notwithstanding all the uproar against God's church, the wise God has so specially directed that whereas there were not, before his abandonment, more than seventy members from among the people, there were afterwards more than half as many added, and the members are

so restrained by God's guidance, that less scandal has taken place than ever before.

F. Tell me, how could such an impious rascal as this director govern the people afterwards?

B. That may with good reason be brought up. As the spit was thus turned into the ashes, to go straight to sea was with him not to come from it. He was as jealous as the devil, whenever he observed that those whom he meant to trust without suspicion, came to speak familiarly with those whom he suspected. It was, as is said,

Conscius ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici:

"He whose conscience is troubled, supposes that every one is speaking of him." In the administration of justice, he gave corruption a free rein for himself and his people. He considered it crime if any one spoke of appeal from his judgment, as appeared, among others, in a certain law-suit which he instituted against Laurens Cornelisz: captain of the Maid of Enckhuysen, because he said he had brought a box of pearls to his mother; which being true, as is known to this day, he nevertheless caused the skipper, on account of the richness of his freight and his illegal acts, to be condemned by his council according to his pleasure.

He was so boastful of his commission, which he had both from the company and from their High Mightinesses and his Highness, that not only he himself, but his councilor, Jan de la Montaigne, maintained that he had absolute and sovereign power, like his Highness, or their High Mightinesses, and the West India Company; which comparison fell very odiously on the feelings, for this man wished to be great without striving after the qualities of true greatness, namely, virtue, honor, and piety.

His injustice and illegal administration of justice were also apparent in a certain suit against Francis Douthey, an English minister, to whom he had given permission to form a colony, before the war, and who had made such a beginning therein, that more than eighty persons had proceeded there. The war coming on, every thing ran down and came to a stand. They durst not go on with the work. The before-mentioned persons and the means melted away. Out of this, a suit was instituted. Master Douthey was permitted to build a colony, on condition that he peopled the

designated land, which condition was not performed. It could not be performed by him. It was, however, sufficient cause of action, in order to have the lands turned into the company by confiscation, and to give them to another patroon; as, by suit for that purpose, the matter was accomplished. Master Douthey appealing from this judgment, was fined twenty-five guilders, and was to remain in close confinement until the twenty-five guilders were paid.

G. Durst he do that to an English minister? It was a brave case for reprisals upon the ships of the West India Company.

B. But Kieft saw that very well, and therefore he would not let the man go away, though he was greatly injured; but they were willing to let him go if he would promise, in writing, not to mention what had happened.

He carried on similar proceedings against one Arnoldus van Hardenburgh, curator of a certain barque of Seger Teunissen, in which some smuggled goods were found. The director and the fiscal claimed, therefore, that the goods in the barque were confiscated. Hardenburgh and his co-curators feeling aggrieved, protested against the judgment, and appealed therefrom to such judges as counsel should bring it before. For this he also was fined twenty-five guilders. He went as far as the prison, but not being willing to be led in by the sergeant, he paid it, like Master Doughty.

G. Why do not the States of Holland send some other person to hold better rule?

B. The States having fully understood all these evils, directed the managers—who were well aware that they had too long played with Director Kieft they well knew, what part—to correct them. The managers thereupon chose Petrus Stuyvesant, late director at Curaçoa, a minister's son in Vriesland, who had formerly stolen the daughter of his own landlord at Franiker, and was caught at it, and let off for the sake of his father, otherwise he would have been disgraced. He was to be director in Kieft's place.

E. How did this company know where to look up all these rascals? I believe that they must have magazines full of them.

B. Their High Mightinesses thought that the managers would take care that no more complaints would be made about a brutal, much less a wicked direction; but we are

informed that the same managers who had intrigued with Kieft, had already, to the decline and ruin of New Netherland, induced him (Stuyvesant) to sustain Kieft, and to annoy the inhabitants upon every pretext whatever. He could not restrain himself until time and occasion furnished a cause, but while on his way to New Netherland, threatened that when he arrived there he would teach the boors better. As he had promised by oath and by grip of the hand that he would punish the faults of Director Kieft according to their merits, and properly sustain the inhabitants, so the result has proven entirely the contrary of those fine promises, according to the instructions which he had already shown to several, and which had been given him by the managers, ordering him to do as he has since done.

I. Is that not the same Stuyvesant who, before this, attempted to take Fort St. Martin for the company, where he lost his leg?

B. He is the very same. The managers regarded that as a Roman achievement by him.

I. All those who were with him there will say otherwise; how he used up the powder, which was given us for the expedition, in firing salutes on the voyage, and when any thing was to be done, there was none on hand. Every thing went on as disorderly in that expedition, as had never happened on any expedition. We were compelled to move off and retire without accomplishing any thing,—on account of his leg alone, which was shot off by the first cannon-shot from Fort St. Martin,—and leaving every thing behind which we had brought there, including five or six fine field-pieces. Was not that a brave Roman business? Who knows what expense the company has been put to for this expedition? Did not such a brave and prudent hero deserve to be chosen and sent, by way of promotion, as director and redressor-general to New Netherland?

B. When he comes from there, the managers may send him to Brazil as president, in order to spoil entirely what remains, as he is accustomed to do.

I. He now, surely, gets every day a day older, and ought to improve so as to wipe out previous faults. How does he manage, now, in New Netherland?

B. Improve, say you, Comrade! like old wolves and sailing-ships, which get every day a day worse.

I. Does he curse and storm and rage, as he used to do, to striking and beating?

B. In that respect he is still the same man as he was of old; so there is no change to be expected, except for the worse.

I. What entry had he in New Netherland?

B. There was brave shooting on all sides, so that they were compelled to buy powder elsewhere to use in case of need, and for exercise.

I. That I can well guess. But how does he manage with the inhabitants?

B. When he first came, some of the principal inhabitants welcomed with uncovered heads their new director. He kept them standing several hours bareheaded, while he had his hat on, as if he were the Grand Duke of Muscovy, offering nobody a seat to sit down, although he himself had sat down at his ease in a chair, in order the better to give audience to the welcomers.

I. You speak so lively of his manner, that I imagine I see it all now. Proceed about this brute.

B. In short, when he took the direction from Kieft, and the Commonalty were called together for the purpose, Kieft first thanked the Commonalty for their loyalty, and the like, but more than was reasonable, in hopes that the Commonalty would have returned him thanks unanimously, which was actually proposed. Some spoke out roundly that they did not thank him, nor had they reason to do so, among whom were Joachim Pietersz: Keuyter, and Cornelis Melyn. Stuyvesant, under the blue heaven, promised, with loud words, that every one should have equal justice, which was pleasant to the ears of the Commonalty to hear. But some days afterwards, as he was persuaded and induced by Kieft, Stuyvesant held court, and let the letter of the Common's-men, written to the Chamber of Amsterdam against Kieft, be brought before it. As he had taken sides with Kieft, he wished to take care that nothing should be written afterwards against himself, and accordingly considered these eight deputies as private individuals, and also so regarded all their business and the whole suit between Kieft and them. With him it was *crimen læsæ majestatis*, to unite against the magistrates, whether there were cause or not. Kieft's bare denial availed more than the Commonalty's men proved; and when the deputies offered divers memorials,

points of inquiry, and persons, in order to establish the truth of what was written, they were at once partly rejected, partly received without weight, and partly concealed before the day came. Yes, what was still more, they got the persons who had signed the letter, and compelled them by high authority and heavy threats, as also fine promises, first not to mention what should be proposed to them; then, to revoke what they had written, or at least to give it another gloss, and to say that they were suborned to sign it, and were misinformed, not even knowing what they had signed, and that they had done it only upon the earnest solicitation of some who, as was seen by the signatures, remained firm, and still defended the same.

So Director Stuyvesant passed sentence against Joachim Pietersz: and Cornelis Melyn, in which he maintained—that they had clandestinely and lyingly accused Director Kieft, their lawful governor and chief, and injured him, yes, falsely belied him—in which he, with his Council, in that well-ordered republic of New Netherland, willing to protect his cause, in the name of their High Mightinesses the Lords States General, his Highness the noble Prince of Orange, and the General Authorized West India Company, condemned Joachim Pietersz: Keuyter to a banishment of three successive years, and (a fine of) one hundred and fifty guilders, one-third for the fiscal, one-third for the poor, and one-third for the church. Cornelis Melyn was charged in his sentence with more crimes, and visited with severer punishment. (As Kieft had before this supposed that he would have a share with him in Staten Island, and Cornelis Melyn, with whom he had agreed in the Fatherland to treat with about it, had been compelled to conclude agreements with others,* Kieft meditated playing him this trick, as the result showed.) As can more fully appear by the sentence, which is in existence,† he was convicted as above-mentioned, of having committed *crimen læsæ majestatis, crimen falsi, crimen* of slander, and on account of these incurred the deprivation of all benefits derived or to be derived from the company, a penalty of three hundred guilders, to be applied as before-mentioned, and banishment for seven years

* Kieft had, upon the mandate of the West India Company, granted a patroonship in Staten Island to Melyn.

† See Note, at the end.

from New Netherland. So that those whom Kieft had insulted were kicked away by Stuyvesant.

It is worthy of particular note that when it was stated to Director Kieft that these proceedings would be regarded in a different light in Holland, he answered, "We may alarm each other but little about justice in Holland, which in this case I consider nothing more than a bugbear."

And Stuyvesant said, "If I knew you would hereafter appeal from my sentence, or divulge the same, I would, by my soul! take off your head, or hang you to the highest tree in New Netherland." He represented the affair of Kieft to those around as favorably as he could, and spoke against the faithful Commonalty's men so violently that the froth hung from his beard. And that it might more boldly appear that he was not inclined to observe the order of their High Mightinesses, and his promises to them, and to give the Commonalty reasonable contentment, he immediately made Jan Janssen Damen church-warden—a man who had signed the petition to murder the Indians.

E. He was a fine churchwarden, with his bloody hands!

B. It is to be apprehended, if the Netherland United Provinces, their High Mightinesses, and his Highness, do not see to it in time, that the names of Netherland, their High Mightinesses, and Orange, will stink, not only with the Indians, but with all Christendom. It is disgrace enough that it has not been attended to before. Therefore, those to whom the welfare of Netherland, New Netherland, and of the government and the inhabitants, is dear, ought to endeavor that this matter be redressed.

I. But the sentence before-mentioned, was it carried into execution?

B. Certainly; for it was of great importance to the new director, Stuyvesant, to his own honor and reputation, yea, his own life. They were brought on board as exiles, and torn away from their goods, wives, and children. The ship "Princess" bore the director (Kieft) and these two true patriots from New Netherland, till, arriving in the (English) Channel, she ran upon a shoal and beat to pieces; when this godless Kieft seeing death before his eyes, and sighing deeply, doubtfully asked both of them: "Friends, I have done you wrong, can you forgive me?" The ship being broken in eight pieces, drove the whole night in the sea till day-break. The most of them were drowned. Cor-

nelis Melyn lost his son. The Minister Bogardus, Kieft, Captain John de Vries, and a large number of men were drowned. There was much wealth lost with Kieft, as the ship's return cargo was worth more than four hundred thousand guilders. Joachim Pietersz: Keuyter remained upon the after part of the ship alone, upon which a piece of cannon stood, which he observing from above out of the port-hole, in the break of day, took to be a man, and accordingly spoke to it, but receiving no answer supposed he was dead. He was finally thrown on land with it, to the great astonishment of the English, who stood by thousands on the shore, and hauled the cannon to land, as a perpetual memorial. Melyn floating back to sea, fell in with others who remained upon a part of the ship on a sand bank, which at the ebb-tide became dry, when they took some planks and pieces of wood, which they put together in the sand bar, and took as many shirts and other garments as were necessary for a sail, so that they were enabled to get from the sand bar, over the channel, to the main-land of England.

And as these persons were mostly concerned for their papers, some of which were totally lost in the sea, they fished for them till the third day. As many of them as were packed in a box, were saved, and are to this hour in possession of Joachim Pietersz.

C. How some people are tossed about in the world! How did these men ever get justice?

B. They told me afterwards, that when they reached Holland, they understood the managers lamented very much the loss of the rich cargo and the ship, and so many fine folks, and grieved that two bandits, rebels, and mutineers had come to annoy the company with their complaints.

I. Was that the comfort which they received from the managers?

B. That was not only their comfort, but some of the managers have attempted to prevent a hearing for them by their High Mightinesses.

I. It were better that hell and hell fire stopped these villains. Who dared attempt that?

B. Those who corresponded with these godless children of Belial,—Van Beeck and Pasquin,—men whom they knew how to stir up. They obtained a hearing, however, and presented their matters so plainly before their High Mightinesses, that they thought proper to prohibit such wicked

proceedings, dispatching letters of prohibition. They sent for Stuyvesant to come back, or else to send an attorney either to sustain his sentence, or hear it annulled, or to reverse it there. For this their High Mightinesses provided them all necessary mandates, protections, executions, and other necessary instruments.

I. How did Stuyvesant manage in the mean time towards the inhabitants; and what regulations did he adopt?

B. Show of religion, and hypocrisy, form one part of this man, and puffed-up pride, especially in regard to his commission, another part, and avarice a third part. All his acts sprout from these three roots, and shoot their tops in the wind far above others. As soon as he had taken possession of his directorship, he began first to make the church of use to him, which was a fine example. He sighed during the sermon so that he was heard by the whole church. Who would not suppose that he would be a righteous Solomon, Abiah, Asa, and desired prince? But all this fine show was covered by the clouds of his dark deeds. And when the news came that the exiles were permitted by their High Mightinesses to return, and that their High Mightinesses had granted their appeal—which Stuyvesant had never thought that they would have gone so far with, but that the managers would, as they had assured him, have prevented it—feeling pricked on account of these things, he sought advice on all sides, which was not without benefit to him; for some showed him how wrongly he had proceeded against the persons,—who were chosen for the Commonalty's men,—as against private individuals; so that, he knowing that he had injured them, and being advised to quiet the people, was well disposed to do so. But when he came to Secretary Tienhoven, he was, as if it would hurt his reputation, turned around. So that, relying upon his worn-out reputation, he has dared to say, "If they return with never so strong an order of their High Mightinesses, I will send them back again, and teach them how to appeal."

Item: it being mentioned to him that in Kieft's time appeals were intended, he said, "What happened then little concerns me, but some one may in my time think of appealing also, but if any one should appeal from my sentence, I would cut off his head, and send the pieces to Holland, and so let him appeal."

Notwithstanding the great noise with which he inquired of these people, he began on their arrival to create a diversion, but it failed him.

And when Cornelis Melyn arrived on the 1st of January, after many hardships, he wanted to take by force all the letters which Melyn had brought with him, to whom he sent the fiscal and secretary twice in the night.

But Melyn sent nothing to him, except the passport of their High Mightinesses. He thereupon sent, the third time, a sergeant to have him appear before the General with his papers. He was answered by Melyn, that he would come before the council in the morning, and then produce and deliver up every thing which he had to produce and deliver. Had it not been for the strong protest of the councilor Lubbertus van Dincklage, vice-director, who was not willing to have any thing to do with his opposition and hasty rage against the passport of their High Mightinesses, he would with his soldiers have thrown Melyn again into prison.

The next day, in the morning, Melyn being summoned, appeared and delivered all the orders and despatches of their High Mightinesses, and also those of his Highness, and of divers others written to him particularly. When these letters were read through, the *hand was in the hair.** Good advice was the best, whereby he was so far brought over, that he said to Melyn and answered that he, Stuyvesant, would follow the orders of their High Mightinesses, and he, Melyn, should pursue his business as before. But these words had no significance; for Melyn desired to be *rung in* as he was *rung out*, and reinstated as a Commonalty's man, from which place he had been unrighteously removed; also to have restitution of the losses he had sustained by these rude and unlawful proceedings. He would grant none of them.

It was determined to carry into effect the order of their High Mightinesses on the 8th of March, 1649, at the time when the general, Stuyvesant, had convened the Commonalty of New Netherland in the church, in order that he might have his ample commission read before them, and his sovereign government vindicated thereby. By this he intended to kill dead the present order of their High Mightinesses, or at least to suspend it, besides endeavoring to effect other like designs upon his own responsibility. The vice-director Dincklage protested that he had no knowledge of and gave no consent to these movements, and that the general had of his own motion caused this assembling of the Commonalty, and

* That is, Stuyvesant was perplexed.

presented his own views to them without communicating them to him, the vice-director. This protest he villainously ridiculed ; whereupon Melyn, perceiving that the longer he staid the worse it was, left the execution of the mandate of their High Mightinesses to be effected by Arnoldus van Hardenberg, who was invited and agreed to do so in presence of the whole Commonalty.

The director-general seeing such unexpected opposition befalling him, did not know what countenance to assume : to attack any one hostilely in the presence of all these witnesses was not prudent, and to do nothing was to injure his reputation before such a large assemblage of more than three hundred persons. He asked Melyn whether he would now let the order be executed, who answered, Yes. He seized the mandate angrily out of the hands of him executing it, so that the seal of their High Mightinesses hung to the parchment in halves, and if it had been paper only, it would have been torn by this irreverent grabbing. When those who stood next to him earnestly admonished him to have respect for their High Mightinesses, a copy of the mandate was placed in his hands by Melyn, and the original mandate was again put in the hand of the person executing it, who read it out loud, and required his answer thereto. Shortly afterwards, the lowest part of the seal fell off.

H. I have seen more such birds hobble off than fly. Had he no other respect for his lords and chief magistrates, he would with us certainly forfeit his life.

B. It ought to be so here too, and I do not consider him yet free.

E. But did he give no answer to the mandate ?

B. That would have been worse than madness, as he had nothing to answer. He said the States and their commission were to be honored, their commands obeyed, an authorization sent, and the sentence sustained.

E. But, as on a sentence of banishment more persons ordinarily sit, why were not the others, who had taken part in the sentence, cited with him ?

B. On the 16th of March, 1649, the fiscal, Henrick van Dyck (who had committed a well-known murder at Utrecht, and had been compelled to go from thence on account of it), was summoned to sustain the sentence. He answered that he had taken no part in this question, notwithstanding he was mentioned in the sentence as the accuser, and had subscribed it.

I. Henrick van Dyck! Was he not ensign formerly in New Netherland, when Kieft was there?

B. Yes, it is the same man who dragged the Indians from Hempstead.

I. But since then he has been fiscal. How has he attended to that office?

B. That I will tell you shortly. It happened that Cornelis Eenckhoorn was very murderously cut in the belly by Skipper Jan Huygens, after some had escaped from him whom he intended to serve similarly. This murderer was imprisoned in the guard-house, and the same night was taken back by the fiscal, Van Dyck, to the house where the dead man was lying, and sat there drinking with the fiscal till the latter part of the night, when he made his escape by the chimney. Furthermore, Skipper Isaac Abrahamsz: being shot dead by Skipper Adriæn Blowmærts, pilot of Stuyvesant's galiot, he was brought by the fiscal on board of us, and remained till we were some days at sea. I knew nothing of it, and put him ashore at the Huys-duynen, to take care of himself. But it may be seen how strongly the disposition to murder has increased in the fiscal under this director. Gerrit Slomp, son of a fishwoman of Amsterdam, was very murderously stabbed to death by Joannes Rodenburgh. The murderer was never molested in New Netherland, where the deed was committed, whose brother was one of the councilors there.

I. How fared the other councilors; were they not cited?

B. The vice-director, Lubbertus van Dincklage, was summoned on the same day, and answered that he had been misled, because the various papers which were now produced were concealed from him at the time, and would otherwise have acquitted the condemned; furthermore, because Stuyvesant, in giving the sentence, had first decided that these persons had written about public affairs without being qualified by public authority.

Monsieur la Montaigne, councilor without commission from the Fatherland, a Frenchman, cited, made answer that Melyn should first give the reasons for citing him, and then he would answer.

Brian Nuton, captain and lieutenant, an Englishman, answered that he did not understand what it was, but would answer in the morning.

Paulus Leandertsz, equipage-master, gave for answer

that he would appear or send an attorney, provided Melyn would first give security.

Abraham Planck, one of the request-masters, answered that he did not know how the war began.

On the 23d March, 1649, Cornelis van Tienhoven, the secretary, was summoned by process as before. He was the cause of the war with the Indians, and of all this affair, and deferred answering until the 25th of May. He said that he did not wish to give any answer, and did give none.

On the 23d of May, Jan Jansz: Damen, one of those whose names were upon the petition to carry on the war with the Indians, answered that whenever the order of their High Mightinesses was shown him wherein his name was specified, he would then come, provided Melyn first gave security for the costs.

C. If it be managed there, as you say, it is very badly done by the director and part of his council. But did he manage afterwards to sustain his sentence, and to send his attorney to the Hague?

B. As Melyn was compelled to protest against him, he finally sent a written answer. The protest was made on the 29th of July, and was first read in full council on the 9th of August. The answer was dated the 10th of August, in which he for a great part receded from his former sentence, especially from the banishment; excusing himself also that he was not bound to make restitution because he had received nothing, and also because he understood that while the matter was hanging under appeal he was not obliged to make restitution, and alleging similar frivolous reasons; and leaving Melyn in free possession of his goods and effects. In short, of all what this affrighted judge had undertaken, his troubled conscience remained. Seeing that the men stood firm to their purpose, that he should either make them reparation or send an attorney to Holland, he resolved to send the Secretary Tienhoven to Holland; and in order that he might anticipate them, the secretary went in a small ship fourteen days before them, and we, with the deputies of the Commonalty, followed fourteen days afterwards. But as the secretary ran behind Ireland, as he deemed it necessary to do so, in order not to get on the same shoal as Kieft, and as we, with the deputies of the Commonalty, took our course straight to the Channel, we got in before him.

C. Must, then, a whole committee be sent against one

man? Could not Melyn alone see after him—one against one?

B. No, Sir. I understand there are more complaints to be made against the director, and their High Mightinesses must be fully informed, and see what the Commonalty have done to be rid of such an intolerable government, or at least to have it corrected.

C. Certainly it is not necessary that more should be shown than you have already stated.

B. I would have, indeed, a year's work, if I were to tell all that has passed there improperly.

E. If you have any more of these proofs, Skipper, tell them as briefly as possible. I have something else to inquire of you about.

B. In order to conclude this statement, you should know of this director that whoever has him opposed to him in New Netherland, as long as he is there, if he have ever so just a case, he must suffer such fines and amends as pleases him. In matters of confiscation, he has as much discretion as a wolf for the lamb, which it devours be he right or not. If he see beforehand that he cannot bring his ordinary councilors to concur with him in their votes, he takes as many extraordinary councilors as he can, with their votes to accomplish his devil-try, and then advises with his ordinary councilors. And when he can do nothing else, he brings his own opinion in writing upon the table, in order that those who have any thing against it may immediately speak against it; which is ordinarily so long that the reading becomes tiresome. If that miscarry, he proceeds to scold and threaten every one, and makes such a clamor that one might wish that he were out of the council-chamber. Where there are two parties, before the case is presented he is the advocate of one of the parties to whom he is most friendly, or who has best bespoken him. There is no trade, in which there is any certain profit, but he seeks to get it all. The diversity of which is wonderful. He is a brewer; he is a shipowner; he carries on alone all kinds of business which we all do; he builds, he fishes, and does a thousand like things, especially annoying to the farmers. In what he does alone, he regards nobody, either the least or the greatest—either public or private persons; for when it was determined by the Commonalty's men to send a committee to Holland, the director at first was willing it should be done; but when they made charges against the

director himself, he would not consent to it. He went in person to the lodgings of the president of the people's men, and took from thence certain notes from which he (the president) intended to prepare a journal. Having possessed himself of these, he then made the president stay in his own cottage, a prisoner. He undertakes a business rashly, which he soon wishes, when he comes to himself, that he had never begun. He first sees every thing from behind, and is so hypocritical and fickle that he cannot be depended upon. He has secretly complained to the minister that his mind was so troubled that he wished God would, ordinarily or extraordinarily, by his word or his servant, show him what to do; whereupon the minister boldly held up before him his errors, and exhorted him to improvement, so that he whined like a dog; but, coming to his work and wants again, he fell continually into greater and grosser faults. Thus, there are no hopes for the better. He forbids, upon pain of death, any one to sell fire-arms, powder, or lead to the Indians, yet does it himself in the sight of all the world; for which, he says, his masters have given him orders. If this be true, what do they else than to put in the hands of the Indians a knife with which to cut our throats, as opportunity may offer?—the which (God help them) has happened too much to those from Fatherland; and it was time that a stricter order was given thereupon. To say all in word, this man has so many particular qualities, of which not one is serviceable in a desirable republic, that he is not fit to rule over Turkish slaves in the galleys, much less over free Christians. The persons who have come over as deputies, have whole trunks full of papers containing charges against him, which the Secretary Tienhoven will have enough to do to answer.

E. You are continually speaking of this Tienhoven. Who is he?

B. He is a man who has run after the Indians like an Indian for love, departing from his religion, and whose father killed himself.

E. What devil, then, does he worship?

B. He never has any scruples of conscience, from which he is to the remotest extent removed. He is a libertine, and there is no religion unless it will burn him. He resembles the serpents: those whom he stings he laughs at, and while he flatters he bites. He cheats every one who deals with him. Even his own brothers-in-law and friends are not free from

his tricks, who have on that account frequently made him out a villain and the like. His wife was, before he married her, reputed to be a whore; and he frequently told others, "If this whore think that I will marry her, I will know better than that;" and shortly afterwards he married her, though, not ten days before, he himself had considered her a whore. Her mother protested that what had happened before his time should not be laid to her charge; that he well knew what she was; if she, therefore, did not please him, he might have left her as she was. She was, even during her marriage, caught in adultery, and proclamations were made concerning it for the purpose of instituting criminal proceedings against her. The pot was, however, covered up.

He has also been the book-keeper of the Company, where he has acted so wickedly, both as regards private individuals and the Company, that the poor common soldiers have not been secure from his thievish accounts and book-keeping. Peter Kock has shown me, as is to be seen at the office of the company at Amsterdam, how impudently he filched from him twelve guilders, and placed them to his own credit.

He has endeavored to pilfer from another honest commissary, Crol, four thousand guilders by false accounts.

In whatever he is engaged there is always, by his management, strife and contention; as, in writing a will for Wilhelm Bredenbent, he had the witnesses, but would not let them subscribe their names. Every species of villainy which can be thought of, he has committed. He has so kept his books, that never, or very seldom, especially if any dispute occurred, could the truth be drawn from them, so as to show the people where the entries were taken from which were charged against those interested in them.

In short, nothing good can be said of this man, and no wickedness can be left unsaid of him. To the Indians and Christians in New Netherland is he so obnoxious, that they have desired and sought that this rascal should be sent out of the country, or that they would again engage in open war with us. Both his brothers-in-law signed that wicked request to murder the Indians. What worse can be said than murderer, thief, cheat, whoremonger, and villain? and if he had not these faults, he would, with Clement Marot's servant, be the best man in the world.

E. What nations live next to New Netherland, and how

do these wicked regents behave themselves towards them? It is very dangerous to live under such a government.

B. The English, in thousands and an hundred thousand families, are our neighbors, so to speak; and there are some Swedes, or Hollandish Swedes, who have wedged themselves in, God knows how, between them and us! Our directors have so conducted towards them, taking from English harbors ships of persons trading with the English, that much bad blood exists; but that nation are not easily led to excesses. If, however, their High Mightinesses, or the government of our Fatherland, do not see to it in time, our nation will, by means of such scoundrels, come short; for the English, while they might have gone along smoothly, being once offended, are very sensitive. Matters have transpired between us and them, which would not be tolerated if every thing should be examined into, as it ought to be, by us as well as by them.

E. Is there no boundary-line between you and them?

B. There is no trifling difficulty about that, with which the sovereigns of both nations may be troubled. I would that that matter was settled.

E. But how came the Swedes there? What pretense have they there?

B. You may well ask that? but what is known to me, I will keep in my sleeve, in order to see if they who are the cause of it will not remedy the same; for Jan Prins, who is the commander there, obtains cargoes and ships from Holland. I cannot understand how men so lost to all shame live in our Fatherland. But I say no more. God help or God destroy those who so contrive to injure us, and send to him openly guns, powder, and lead, in order to sell them to the Indians, and ultimately to murder our people.

H. Is there no counsel in Holland against all such villainy?

B. There is in Holland counsel more than enough against it, if they who receive it would only adopt it.

How easily could those who were appointed regents be required to state their birth-place and condition, and their subsequent lives then be inquired into, in order that such notorious scoundrels should not be appointed to high places over us! Or it might be left to the Commonalty to seek out one or more persons, according to their pleasure, or to contrive other means, so that at least open murderers, thieves,

and villains should not be entrusted with the command, and neither the people there nor the government here, as well of the country as of the company and stockholders, should be served by them.

Further, as inordinate and improper charges are imposed in many things, how easily can it be provided to remove them, and as opportunity offers, when the sheep have any wool, to pull it reasonably!

And as to the taxes which will be imposed upon the Commonalty by honest regents, nothing is to be done except with the increase of means to undertake, with discretion, at first, what is practicable, proper, and reasonable, and then to be content therewith.

Furthermore, to manage to reduce all high officers and their salaries, or at least to pay them so little, that they, living honestly, may do the State and the country more service.

For, hitherto, in New Netherland, over seventy thousand guilders have ordinarily been spent by the company for wages; and the income of the company has been scarcely fifty thousand guilders. Must that not go behindhand which is not differently managed? And if the directors have quarrels about it with their masters, then the people, hardly four or five hundred men strong, will be fleeced by force. Is not every one by this means frightened off from doing any thing in New Netherland, from building up colonies, or attempting any enterprise which would result in benefit to the inhabitants of our country, both here and there?

Above all, care should be taken not to put it in the power of one person to injure a large number, and even a whole community, by a needless and unjust, yea, such a destructive war, and to bring our nation into contentions with other nations.

I dare assure the regents of the Netherlands, that if no redress be afforded to New Netherland it will go to ruin, as has already happened by bad regents to other countries which have been under the management of the company. In New Netherland they are waiting, both inhabitants and neighbors, Christians and Indians, the business of this deputation. And it will be a subject of much thought, while the government is committed to such an obstinate vagabond, whether the country will be found in the same state as we left it; as the Indians have a sharp eye upon those who were the cause of their cruel massacre, which they have yet in their minds. They want neither the power nor the opportunity.

A. Skipper, you have talked almost all of us to sleep, with your bad news.

B. Well, if they are all asleep, I will sleep awhile. Whoever wishes more, may inquire of others. Rest, comrade, rest ye a little. It is late enough to take rest. The Provinces and the stockholders of the company, and others, private merchants, have here enough to think of, as to what has swallowed up all their subsidies and means, namely, a godless, indecent, wicked, unmannerly, and profligate governmen, which is known too well to all the world, and which must be redressed.

APPENDIX.

L. GRANTS license to M. to settle upon and possess N., a conquest, provided that the fullest power over the subjects who should put themselves under M. should remain with L., as should also, after the lapse of a certain number of years, all forts and fortresses.

O. thereupon agrees with M. to settle upon and possess a portion of N., pursuant to the aforesaid license, and under established privileges.

O. being a subject, although a secret councilor of L., perceiving that some particular loss, either by the ill-direction of M., or by M.'s severe burdens, or by the fraudulent administration of his particular officers, would befall him,—in order to escape the same, makes an agreement with P., an officer of Q., an absent friend of L., sent by L. from Q., for the preservation of friendship.

O. sells to P. his possessions or lands acquired in N. without informing L. or M. thereof.

P., without the knowledge of L. or M., takes full power and authority from his master Q., and means, people, ammunition, even provisions and ships from the country of L., debauches there, besides, some of the officers of M., by means of which, under the appearance of wishing to trade with the inhabitants in N., takes possession of the before-mentioned purchased lands lying at the entrance of one of the best rivers in N.; where the officers of P. first began to plant vegetables, then to sow the fields, and finally to build a fort, as they have subsequently, in process of time, built seven forts upon the river, whereby the subjects of L. and M. in N., who wish to go up the river, are compelled to lie before that fort each time, so that L., contrary to his own granted license, and M., contrary to the privileges given him, come to lose their sovereign jurisdiction on the river, and all manner of harm is done to the good inhabitants of L. and M., under pain of death.

HENCE ARISE THESE QUESTIONS:

1. What crime or crimes has O. committed against L., M., and their subjects; and how shall, can, or must he make reparation to L., M., and their subjects?

2. What crime or crimes have P. committed, and his debauched officers, as also others who have in any degree meddled therewith; and how will they make reparation? *

Advorsum hæc et alia, implorantur

Consilia, Auxilia, Indicia, Judicia, Media, Remedia — Saluberrima et Efficacissima, si dantur in Belgio.

* The case here presented relates evidently to the encroachments of the Swedes on the Delaware.

NOTE.

THE judgment against Melyn is preserved in the records at Albany. It should be read in connection with his complaint in the Breeden Raedt. It runs as follows:

Whereas Cornelis Melyn, born at Antwerp, about forty-five years of age, an inhabitant of New Amsterdam, in New Netherland, dared, as is proven by statements under oath, to oppose and violate justice, on the 2d of May, 1645, and to threaten the Director-General, Kieft, then his governor and chief magistrate, with the gallows and wheel, or, as the delinquent, prevaricating but voluntarily confessing, admitted that he said to the attorney-general and others, "They who have given such orders* may be upon their guard that they come neither to the gallows nor on the wheel," and to oppose himself further to the orders of Director Kieft, so that the Attorney-general was obliged to protest of contumacy and opposition against said Melyn: And as said Melyn is, by sundry other statements under oath at different times, convicted of abusing the court, saying, that there was no justice here: that he was not subject to the director-general; that the director-general might look after the company's servants; that he was the devil's head, with numerous mutinous and seditious words to divers soldiers and freemen, endeavoring to persuade the servants of the company to leave its service, because they would not receive their pay; that the governor was the greatest liar in the country, who gave many fair words and promises, but never performed them; and also of instigating the freemen not to pay what they owed; and of many other acts of the same kind, as is proven by various affidavits and credible witnesses, all of which were distinctly read to said Melyn; and also of robbing or endeavoring to steal from the Indians on Long Island at the beginning of the war, in which they did not participate, their corn, in a clandestine or forcible manner, on which occasion an Englishman was shot by the said Indians; which fact, notwithstanding his denial, appears from his own confession in open court on the 16th of January of this year, when he admitted that his servants, with some soldiers, planned the expedition, but against his orders; of which, however, he never made any complaint, nor informed any court of what had happened, which is sufficient proof that he connived at the transaction, and by his silence approved of it; and also of compelling the Indians on Staten Island to surrender to him a part of their hunting-grounds, as appears by statements under oath on the last day of July, 1645;—all which doings are of a pernicious tendency, leading to mutiny and rebellion, defamation of justice, and of the chief magistrate, and encouraging violence: To all this must be added that he, Melyn, with one Jochem Petersen Kuyter, conceived and wrote a letter on the 28th of October, 1644, in the name of the eight elect men, which they copied, signed, and sent to the Honorable Directors of

* Orders in relation to the Indian war.

the West India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam, as calumnious as false, wherein they, in the most false and scandalous manner, abuse and insult the Hon. Director Kieft, then their governor and chief magistrate, as may be seen and read in the original,—the which being examined and investigated at the request of the aforesaid Director Kieft, WE DECLARE that said letter is false in its principal points, as is confirmed by his voluntary confession, by the evidence of as many as fifteen others, and by the declarations and answers of several who signed the letter: *Whereupon* the attorney-general instituted proceedings against the said Melyn, and convicted him of having committed the crime of defamation against the court and justice, and falsehood in writing, and consequently of being guilty of the crime of *læsæ majestatis*. All which facts, proofs, and documents having been examined, and every part duly considered by the Hon. Director and Council, It is their opinion that such misdeeds are of the most serious and alarming consequences under any well-regulated government, where they ought not and cannot be tolerated, but ought to be exemplarily punished; WHEREFORE the director-general, Petrus Stuyvesant, with the advice of the members of his council, administering justice in the name and in behalf of their High and Mighty Lords, the States General, his Highness the Prince of Orange, and the Noble Directors of the privileged West India Company, does condemn the aforesaid Cornelis Melyn to be banished for seven years from the limits of the jurisdiction of New Netherland, to depart with the first sailing vessel, revoking and withdrawing all benefices, pretensions, and honors which he owed to said directors, and in addition sentencing him to pay an amend of three hundred Carolus guilders, to be distributed, one-third to the poor, one-third to the church, and one-third to the attorney-general, and rejecting the other parts of the said attorney's conclusions. *Done in Council in Fort Amsterdam, 23d July*, 1647. (Sd.) P. STUYVESANDT, L. VAN DINCKLAGE, BRIAN NEWTON, POUWELIS LEENDERS VAN DER GRIFT, JAN CLAESSEN BOLL.

The judgment against Kuyter follows that of Melyn in the record, under the date of 25th July, 1647.

2 Timothy, III., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 9.

1. This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come;

2. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy,

3. Without natural affection, trucebreakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good,

4. Traitors, heady, highminded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God,

5. Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away.

9. But they shall proceed no further; for their folly shall be manifest unto all men, as theirs also was.

VI.

EXTRACT

FROM

Wagenaar's "Beschryving van Amsterdam,"

RELATING TO THE COLONY OF NEW AMSTEL, ON THE DELAWARE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH,

BY

JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

JAN WAGENAAR, from one of whose works the following extract is taken, was born at Amsterdam, on the 31st of October, 1709. In early life he entered a merchant's counting-room, but soon turned his attention to literature, and at length devoted himself entirely to the study of the history of his native country. In 1749, he published the two first volumes of his "Vaderlandsche Historie." This work was extended to twenty-one volumes, the last of which was issued in 1760. It gives an accurate and detailed account of the principal events of the United Netherlands, and particularly of Holland, from the earliest times to the year 1751. A continuation was afterwards published. This History received, as it deserved, high commendation, both at home and abroad, and has always been esteemed a work of excellent authority. In 1758, Wagenaar was appointed Historiographer to the city of Amsterdam, and thus obtained free access to its archives. He wrote an "Historical Description" of the city, which was published in three volumes, folio, and also in thirteen volumes, octavo, 1760–1768. The contents of both editions—which are embellished with admirable engravings—are precisely the same. Wagenaar was also the author of several other works, chiefly historical. He was distinguished for his piety and charity, and was held in high esteem by his native city, where he died on the 1st of March, 1773.

The following extract is taken from Wagenaar's Description of Amsterdam, volume I., page 594 of the folio edition, and volume V., page 224, of the octavo. It relates exclusively to the colony which that city undertook to establish on the South or Delaware River, in 1656, at Fort Casimir, or, as it was afterwards named, "New Amstel," and which is now known as New Castle. The chief authorities

for the account in this extract are the original Records in the archives of the city of Amsterdam. These records were carefully examined by the Historical Agent of the State, in 1841, and copies were made of such as relate to New Netherland, which now form volumes XV. and XVI. of the "Holland Documents," in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany.

There has been a good deal of misapprehension among historical writers about this colony at New Amstel, which was thus named after the manor of "Nieuw Amstel," or Amstelveen, lying a little south of Amsterdam. Wagenaar himself is not very precise in a part of his account of it, which indeed he inserts as a short episode in his ponderous description of his native city. Some American authors have even confounded New Amstel, on the South River, with New Amsterdam, the capital of New Netherland. It is hardly necessary, at this time, to do more than merely allude to this one instance out of many, in which important facts in our history have been sadly and inexcusably perverted.

EXTRACT

FROM WAGENAAR'S AMSTERDAM.

In North America, there was discovered, in the year 1609, by *Henry Hudson*, sailing in the service of the [Dutch] East India Company, a region in the latitude of above forty-one degrees, which he called *New Holland*, and which afterwards received the name of *New Netherland*.* The West India Company, subsequently organized, sent people and cattle to that region, and continued to carry this on from time to time. Their servants and planters bought much land from the Americans, and among others an island at the mouth of the River *Manhattans*, which at present is called *Hudson's River ;* upon which island, before long, the Fort *Amsterdam* and the city of *New Amsterdam* were built.† The Company had committed the management of this island to the Amsterdam chamber, which, in the beginning of the year 1656, showed itself inclined to make over a part of its possessions in New Netherland to the city [of Amsterdam.] It was judged in the common council that this land, being properly built upon, would produce every thing that was then brought from the Baltic, even to masts; and it was thereupon resolved to enter into negotiations with the Company respecting the purchase of the same, so that it would not be always necessary to depend on the Baltic sea.‡ The land was bought. The burgomasters and councillors

* J. De Laet: Description of the West Indies, p. 83.

† Memorie of 28th February, 1654, in the Verbaal of H. Van Beverningk, p. 608.

‡ Resolution of the Council, Book A, 3d March, 1656, p. 76. [Also, in Holland Documents, vol. xv. p. 2.]

arranged, in November, some conditions for the benefit of such as should be willing to settle themselves there to build upon and plant the land.* The Duke of Savoy, displeased with his Reformed subjects in the valleys of Piedmont, known by the name of *Waldenses*, had, for some time, according to their judgment, treated them too harshly, and had obliged them to abandon their dwellings. For these people there were collected here, in Holland, more than two hundred thousand guilders, which were promptly sent over to them.† A large part of this sum was contributed at Amsterdam; of which—so it appears to me—more than sixty-seven thousand guilders were paid over on two occasions.‡ There also came hither, before long, upwards of three hundred of these exiles, who seemed desirous to help to people the new colony of the city in New Netherland.§ And afterwards, from time to time, persons and families were received for the same purpose.‖ Before the end of this year, the city also took up twenty-five thousand guilders, for the benefit of the Colony, and to provide it with some necessary wares.¶ In the spring of the year 1657, there were again collected three hundred planters ready for the voyage to New Netherland. It was then resolved to raise yet thirty-six thousand guilders for the same purpose, and to provide the Colony with a preacher.** Shortly before there had been also taken up ten thousand guilders: somewhat later six thousand more. Still in the beginning of September the commissaries having the oversight of the colony again demanded fresh assistance. Men then began to see that the expense of the colony exceeded the benefit derived from it. The council declared that it had not been its intention to maintain it at such heavy outlays.†† Nevertheless, in the spring of the year 1658, they

* [These "conditions" are appended to the second edition of Van der Donck's description of New Netherland, which was published in 1656. Translations are in Hazard II. 543; I. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1, 291; II. 1, 238; O'Call, II. 328; and abstracts are in S. Hazard's Ann. Penn. 220; Dunlap's. N. Y. II. appendix XII. Dunlap errs, however, in dating them in 1623, and in making them refer to New Amsterdam, instead of New Amstel, now Newcastle, on the Delaware river. Brodhead's N. Y. I. 630, 632.]

† Aitzema, III. p. 1240.

‡ Groot Memorie, IV. 96, 106.

§ Holl. Merc. of 1656, p. 129. Domselaar, VI. p. 407; Commelin, p. 1157.

‖ Groot Memorie, V. 51, 79, 81.

¶ Resolution of Council, A, 11th Nov., 1656, p. 152. [Hol. Doc. xv. p. 10.]

** Resolution of Council, A, 3d March, 1657, p. 199. [Hol. Doc. xv. p. 12.

†† Resolution of Council, A, 4th July, 7th September, 1657, p. 225. [Hol. Doc. xv. p. 14, 16.]

again provided twenty thousand guilders more, and sent, anew, a ship with some planters thither.* In the autumn, deliberations were had respecting the means of maintaining New Netherland at less cost; and it was likewise resolved to levy six thousand guilders more for the colony. Some alterations were made in the "conditions" drawn up for the benefit of the planters, inasmuch as the same were found to be too prejudicial to the city.† The planters, who sent their products, in part, at least, wherever they wished, were now, among other things, obliged to send them to this city [Amsterdam] alone. But, in the beginning of the year 1659, this point was so far modified that such planters as had repaid to the city the expenses of their conveyance over, might send their wares wherever they wished, except peltries and the products which they desired to export to the East, the North, or the Netherlands; all of which they should be holden to bring hitherwards.‡ Yet the maintenance of this colony, at first, was so detrimental to the city, and what was brought from there produced so little, that it was resolved, in the following September, to get rid of it again, and to re-convey it to the West India Company in the best way possible; § but that body always showed a disinclination to such an arrangement. Meanwhile, in the years 1660 and 1661, there were again raised twenty-nine thousand two hundred and fifty guilders, for the benefit of the colony; ‖ and, in the year 1662, one hundred guilders each was allowed to twenty-five families of Mennonists, who wished to betake themselves thither.¶ From this time forward the colony began to prosper. The navigation and trade there, which

* Resolution of Council, B, 11th April, 1658, p. 16. [Hol. Doc. xv, p. 19.]

† Resolution of Council, B, 19th October, 20th December, 1658; p. 55, 72. [Hol. Doc. xv. p. 21, 23.]

‡ Res. of Council, B, 10th March, 1659, p. 91. [Hol. Doc. xv. p. 27.]

§ Res. of Council, B, 30th September, 1659, p. 161. [Hol. Doc. xv. p. 29.]

‖ Res. of Council, C, 25th August, 16th November, 1660, 6th January, 9th May, 1661, p. 50, 82, 99, 132. [Hol. Doc. xv. p. 33, 34, 35, 37.]

¶ Res. of Council, C, 20, April, 1662, p. 192. [Hol. Doc. xv. p. 51. These Mennonists or Anabaptists formed an association, and adopted articles for the government of their proposed Colony, which were published in 1662, in the appendix to a quarto pamphlet of 84 pages, compiled from De Laet, De Vries, and the Vertoogh, entitled "Kort Verhae Van Nieuw Nederlant's Gelegentheit," &c. A copy of this work is in the Library of the New York Historical Society, and a translation of it by Mr. Henry C. Murphy, is about to be issued in the valuable series privately printed by Mr. James Lenox. Brodhead's N. Y. I. 699.]

contributed partly to the city's revenue, increased.* But the war with Charles II. King of Great Britain, which broke out in the year 1664, made an alt ration in all that had been done. The rising colony was conquered in the same year, about the beginning of September, by *Robert Holmes.*† The King gained it permanently by the treaty of the year 1667. New Netherland was from that time called *New York*, which name was also given to *New Amsterdam.* In the mean time the council of Amsterdam resolved, in the year 1665, to confer the burgher-right of that city upon the former burghers of the city's colony in New Netherland.‡

* Res. of Council, C, 22d February, 10, 16, March, 1663, p. 233, 240, 244; D. 10th August, 24, 26, Oct. 1663, p. 26, 48, 49. [Hol. Doc. xv. p. 52, 54, 58, 61, 63, 65.]

† Letters of De Witt, IV, p. 386, 387; Holl. Merc. of 1664, p. 152; Vaderlandsche Historie, xiii. p. 119. [This statement is not quite accurate. Holmes conducted an expedition against the Dutch possessions on the coast of Africa; but the forces sent to capture New Netherland were commanded by Colonel Richard Nicolls. The Colony of the city of Amsterdam on the South, or Delaware River, was reduced by Sir Robert Carr, under Nicolls' order. Brodhead's New York, I. 735, 744.]

‡ Resolution of the Council, E, 26 Aug. 1665, p. 18. [Hol. Doc. XV, p. 75.]

VII.

THE SEVEN ARTICLES

FROM THE CHURCH OF LEYDEN,

1617.

COMMUNICATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER,

BY

GEORGE BANCROFT.

LETTER.

NEW YORK, *October* 3, 1856.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE:—Agreeably to your request, I enclose a copy of the "Seven Artikells which ye Church of Leyden sent to ye Counsell of England to bee considered of in respeckt of their judgments occationed about theer going to Virginia." As far as I know, they have never been published. The account of the principles of the Pilgrims, to which the author of the New England Chronology refers, is a different paper; and none of the successors of Prince seem to have been aware of the existence of this document. It escaped the notice of Bishop Wilberforce, to whom America is deeply indebted for the discovery of the original manuscript of Bradford's History of the Plymouth Colony; and of Mr. Anderson, who more distinctly announced to the world that the original manuscript of that long lost work was in the library of the Bishop of London.

We have now from Mr. Charles Deane of Boston, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society, an admirable edition of Bradford's History, illustrated with equal diligence and fidelity. On pages 30 and 31 of that volume, you will find a reference to the Seven Articles, which, however, were not inserted in the History, even in an abstract. They seem to have slumbered unnoticed for more than two centuries among the Virginia volumes in the State Paper Office in Westminster. The copy I send you was made for me by Mr. Sainsbury, a clerk in that office, in whose accuracy I have entire confidence.

For the just interpretation of the articles, the purpose of the Pilgrims must be borne in mind; and also the contemporaneous work of John Robinson, called "A just and necessary Apology of certain Christians, no less contumeliously than commonly called Brownists or Barrowists."

The Protestant Reformation, in its commencement, sheltered itself under the wing of temporal sovereigns, to whose authority it, for a time at least, appeared to subordinate religion. Luther especially disclaimed all disposition to resist them; and, to those, whose consciences claimed a greater freedom in belief and forms of worship than the established governments would suffer, he advised emigration, but at the same time encouraged no resistance to the sovereign at home. "The Gospel," said he, "is not tied to place, but moves freely through the world, like the star which beamed on the wizards, and as they journeyed from the East, guided them where the Saviour lay. We have power to change our country and elsewhere pursue truth. Do not dispute with the sovereign for place, but emigrate in company. Let the people elect a pastor, and support him at their own charge; if the magistrate interferes, let the pastor, whom the people have chosen, take to flight, and let them that will, go with him."

This is just the conclusion to which the Pilgrims were led. They desired to make no resistance to the king or to the hierarchy, but to emigrate to America with a charter, tolerating their worship and conceding powers of government.

The seven articles, which bear no date, but, as appears from the letter of Sir Edwin Sandys, must have been written in the autumn of 1617, preparatory to an intended emigration to America in 1618, express substantially no more than was soon published in Robinson's "Just and necessary Apology," which was given to the press, in Latin, in 1619. Thus in the first Article, Robinson and Brewster, giving the Calvinistic interpretation to the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England, accept them unconditionally. So in the Apology, Chapter XII., Robinson writes: "We accord, as far as the Belgic and other reformed churches, with the Church of England in the articles of Faith and heads of Christian religion, published in the name of that Church, and to be found in the 'Harmony of the Confessions of Faith.'"

The second Article is a corollary from the first, and Robinson always admitted in his printed works, that "in the Church of England lively faith and true piety are both begotten and nourished in the hearts of many by the preaching of the gospel there."

The third Article is a most ample recognition of the royal authority; but purposely couched in terms, which might have been used, in the days of Nero, to express a readiness to render even to a heathen

magistrate that obedience which was acknowledged to be due to his office. So in the eleventh Chapter of the Apology, Robinson is careful to keep Christianity and the civil power distinct, and evidently holds that "no civil or co-active power in things, whether civil or ecclesiastical," can "come to the magistrate by his Christianity." "We," he says, "believe the very same, touching the civil magistrate, with the Belgic reformed churches, and willingly subscribe to their confession; and the more, because what is by many restrained to the Christian magistrate, they extend indefinitely and absolutely to the magistrate whomsoever. And that surely upon good ground: seeing the magistracy is one, and the power the same, whether the person be Christian or heathen." "The prince rules over his subjects as he is a prince, and they subjects simply; not as faithful or christian, he or they." "God forbid that the Christian magistrate should take liberty to use, or rather abuse, his authority for the same; which yet if he do either the one or the other, whether by commanding what God forbids, or by forbidding what God commands, seeing it comes by the fault of the person, not of the office, the subject is not freed from the bond of allegiance, but is still tied to obedience, as active for the doing of the thing commanded, if it be lawful; so passive, if unlawful, by suffering patiently the punishment, though unjustly inflicted."

The fourth and fifth articles are to be construed as a promise not to question the authority of bishops in so far as that authority is derived from the king. The same doctrine occurs in the Apology, Chapter XII., where Robinson writes, "Wherein yet I would not so be understood, as if we were at any defiance with the persons of the bishops, much less with the king's civil authority, whereof they are possessed, whether in matters civil or ecclesiastical." "Now as concerning their civil authority; albeit we do not believe that the same is at all competent to the true ministers of the gospel, especially in that eminency, external glory, and pomp of this world, in which they far exceed many worldly princes, and rather seem to represent the triumphant, than the militant church; yet forsomuch as they both obtain the same by the gift of the king, and exercise it in his name, we do not unwillingly yield honour and obedience unto it, and to his majesty in it."

The sixth Article carries still further the application of the same principle; and, as a natural consequence, the Pilgrims in the following year, though with a little reluctance, avowed a willingness to take the oath of supremacy.—[Deane's *Bradford*, 34.]

Robinson and Brewster failed in their application for a charter, and got from the king no more than a verbal and vague promise of connivance, if they carried themselves peaceably. Who gave the counsel to refuse their prayer is a question of interest, which I am not able to solve. It is at least certain that the disinclination to sanction colonies of dissenters was not confined to the Church. Bacon, who took a special interest in plantations, adheres on this subject to the policy of the prelates of his day. In the letter of advice to Sir George Villiers, on his rising to the state of favorite minister, the ambitious philosopher shows plainly his purpose to extend the Church of England with every new colony; and he seems to have originated the theory respecting colonial Church government, which prevailed in England till after our American revolution.

"For the discipline of the Church, in those parts," such are his words, written almost at the very time of Robinson and Brewster's application, or a little before it, "for the discipline of the Church in those parts, it will be necessary, that it agree with that which is settled in England, else it will make a schism and a rent in Christ's coat, which must be seamless; and, to that purpose, it will be fit, that by the king's supreme power in causes ecclesiastical, within all his dominions, they be subordinate under some bishop and bishoprick of this realm." This is the system which prevailed in the British Colonial Government for more than a century and a half. And again, as to dissenters in the foreign plantations, Bacon gives the "caution," "To establish there the same purity of religion, and the same discipline for Church government, without any mixture of popery or anabaptism, lest they should be drawn into factions and schisms; and that place receive them there bad, and send them back worse."

The Pilgrims carried with them to the New World the moderation which they had professed in their dealings with the Court. There is a marked difference in this respect between the Government of the Old Colony, as that of Plymouth was called, and the Government of Massachusetts. A long time ago I wrote of the Pilgrims at Plymouth that "they were never betrayed into the excesses of religious persecution," and after the lapse of more than twenty years, the remark still approves itself as correct. Mr. Anderson, in his History of the Church of England in the Colonies, &c., &c., Vol. I., pp. 453, 454, of his first edition, has seen fit to attempt to refute the remark. But in this he has only committed a double injustice in consequence of a

mistake of his own. He, for the moment, confounded the two colonies of the Massachusetts Bay and New Plymouth, although he very well knew that at that period they were distinct, and that their governments were not the same; and a pertinacity in his error leads him to indulge himself in censuring me for inconsistency and the Pilgrims for intolerance, because the first emigrants to Salem, who were under the Massachusetts charter and belonged to another Government and another jurisdiction from that of Plymouth, had forbidden the public use of the Common Prayer. Should this notice reach the eye of Mr. Anderson, I hope he will take pains to see for himself the error of the statements which his misapprehension has led him to make, and prove his substantial candor by the correction which historic truth requires.

Excuse the great length of this letter, and believe me,

Very truly yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

George Henry Moore, Esq., New York.

ARTICLES FROM THE CHURCH OF LEYDEN.

1617.

[S. P. O. Am^{a} & W. Ind. Virg.]

SEVEN Artikes which ye Church of Leyden sent to ye Counsell of England to bee considered of in respeckt of their judgments occationed about theer going to Virginia Anno 1618.

1. To ye confession of fayth published in ye name of ye Church of England & to every artikell theerof wee do wth ye reformed churches wheer wee live & also els where assent wholy.

2. As wee do acknolidg ye docktryne of fayth theer tawght so do wee ye fruites and effeckts of ye same docktryne to ye begetting of saving fayth in thousands in ye land (conformistes & reformistes) as ye ar called wth whom also as wth our bretheren wee do desyer to keepe sperituall communion in peace and will pracktis in our parts all lawfull thinges.

3. The King's Majesty wee acknolidg for Supreame Goverher in his Dominion in all causes and over all parsons, and y none maye decklyne or apeale from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but y in all thinges obedience is dewe unto him, ether active, if ye thing commanded be not agaynst God's woord, or passive yf itt bee, except pardon can bee obtayned.

4. Wee judg itt lawfull for his Majesty to apoynt bishops, civill overseers, or officers in awthoryty onder hime, in ye severall provinces, dioses, congregations or parrishes to oversee ye Churches and governe them civilly according to ye Lawes of ye Land, untto whom ye ar in all thinges to geve an account & by them to bee ordered according to Godlynes.

5. The authoryty of ye present bishops in ye Land wee

do acknolidg so far forth as ye same is indeed derived from his Majesty untto them and as ye proseed in his name, whom wee will also theerein honor in all things and hime in them.

6. Wee beleeve y^t^ no sinod, classes, convocation or assembly of Ecclesiasticall Officers hath any power or awthority att all but as ye same by ye Majestraet geven unto them.

7. Lastly, wee desyer to geve untto all Superiors dew honnor to preserve ye unity of ye speritt wth all y feare God, to have peace wth all men what in us lyeth & wheerein wee err to bee instructed by any. Subscribed by

JOHN ROBINSON,
and
WILLYAM BRUSTER.

VIII.

JOURNAL

OF

AN EMBASSY FROM CANADA TO THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND,

IN 1650.

BY

FATHER GABRIEL DRUILLETTES

OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, WITH NOTES, ETC.

BY

JOHN GILMARY SHEA,

MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The union of the New England colonies in 1643 forms a remarkable epoch in our history, as showing the progress of those ideas which resulted in the present union of the various European colonies from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande. The full scope of the plan conceived by the four colonies in their union has not, it would seem, been fully understood. Evidence exists, to show that they proposed to include in the league the neighboring French and Dutch colonies, so as to form a continental union of the various European colonies; proposing that each with its own religion, its own language, its own manners, should, while it extended in its own limits by industry and enterprise, form with the rest one friendly body, whose unity should be disturbed by no laws, no wars, no intrigues of European courts. Had it been realized, how much war and bloodshed had been spared!

The history of the transaction, so far as we can deduce it, may be here shortly stated. As early as 1647, or the ensuing year, the venerable John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, "the father of the country," wrote to the Governor of Canada, proposing a free trade between the colonies, and in fact a general union, such as we have described.*

New Netherland accepted the first advances made; but the Canadian government seem to have delayed an answer till 1650, when Louis d'Ailleboust, the Governor, requested the Jesuit Father, Druilletes, the Missionary to the Abnakis, to proceed to Boston with his reply, accepting the union proposed, on condition that the united colonies would join them in reducing the Iroquois. As to this embassy Charlevoix and Hutchinson confess their inability to give any details. The accompanying journal of Father Druilletes being, with his report, the only known account of it, cannot then be devoid of interest. It was found at Montreal, among some title papers to property formerly

* Hutchinson, *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, I., 166.

owned by the Jesuits of Canada. The original is said to be extant; but the present writer found only a copy, which however may be safely relied on, as it has several corrections made in the handwriting of Father Paul Ragueneau, Superior of the Jesuits in Canada about 1651, whose care in causing copies of valuable papers to be made in season has enabled many to reach us.

The French having been communicated by me to a gentleman who has already reproduced several of the Jesuit manuscripts of that time, in imitation of the printed Relations, was also privately printed by him. A translation is now presented.

A letter, apparently part of that referred to in this Journal, has been published by the accurate and laborious Abbé Ferland, in his Notes on the Registers of Quebec. We append a translation of this also, as it contains some curious details. (II.)

According to this journal, Father Druilletes found Plymouth well disposed to enter the league, and most of the others by no means unfavorable; but the decision was referred to the General Court. He returned to Canada in June, 1651. On his report the French governor convened a meeting of the informal Council of the Colony,* and this body appointed Father Druilletes and John Paul Godefroy, their ambassadors to the authorities in New England.† The appointment, as found in the register of the Council, with the letter of the governor, and that of the Council to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, have been preserved by Charlevoix, and are annexed by us to Druilletes' journal. (III.–IV.)

The deputies, on their arrival at Boston, however, found the New England Colonies less disposed to join them. "To these letters," say the Commissioners, in a letter to their agent Winslow, "such answare was returned by all the Collonies as might have stopped all further proceedings; but it seems by theire commissions or instructions they were enjoyned to treat with the Commissioners, and from them joyntly to receive theire answare, soe that they came along with the Massachusetts Commissioners to Newhaven."‡ Here they presented their credentials, and the affair was discussed at length in the General Court; the New England magistrates being anxious indeed to open a trade, but equally unwilling to purchase commer-

* There was properly no permanent Council till 1663. CHARLEVOIX. *Histoire de la Nouvelle France.* I. 371.

† John Paul Godefroy was a captain of a vessel, and son of R. Godefroy, Esq., of St. Nicholas des Champs, at Paris. He married in Canada, his wife being a daughter of Le Gardeur de Repentigny. FERLAND. *Notes sur les Registres de Notre Dame de Quebec.* 50.

‡ Letter to Edward Winslow, dated 12th September, 1651, in HAZARD. *Historical Collections.* II. 182.

cial advantages by an Indian war. They finally presented to the French deputies a letter to the Governor of Canada (V.) and an answer to their propositions (VI.), both of which are here given. These declining the proposal, virtually closed the negotiation.

The ground on which this aid was asked gives new light on a point which has not been sufficiently examined, the connection of the French with the Abnakis in Maine. Champlain had indeed had friendly relations with them, but not long before the present epoch some who came to trade on the St. Lawrence were ordered to retire, and threatened with hostilities if they returned. They were considered as English Indians purchasing furs for the Boston market. Yet almost at the same time a missionary was sent to them in the following way. A party of heathen Algonquins took some Abnakis prisoners by mistake, for they were not at war; they were proceeding, however, to torture them when the news reached the Christian Algonquins of Sillery; these hastened to their countrymen, arrested their cruelty, and even obtained one of the Abnakis already covered with wounds. As soon as, by the care and attention of the Hospital nuns, he was restored to health, he set out for his tribe, accompanied by Charles Meiaskɑat, a fervent Christian, who, as a missionary, traversed the villages of the Abnakis, exciting all to embrace the saving faith of Christ. One chief followed him back to Sillery, and many others subsequently embraced Christianity. Four years later, in 1646, a Christian chief came to implore the black gowns to come and reside among them to convert them all. The proposal was accepted, and the same entry in the journal of the Superior of the mission announces that Father Jogues was to proceed to the Mohawk, and Father Druillettes to the Kennebec. He wintered with them; and by his patience and assiduity converted many; returning to Quebec in 1647, he was about to revisit the Kennebec again, when the French in Acadia wrote to ask that he should not again enter the Abnaki villages. After the French had been driven from their posts in Maine, he returned in 1650, and continued his labors, with some interruption, till 1657. As the journal shows, the Abnakis were considered English Indians, under the protection of Plymouth, and it was to defend them against the Iroquois that the New England colonies were asked to take up arms. As they refused, and soon after became, in a manner, allies of the Five Nations, the Abnakis threw themselves into the arms of the French, who, from about 1685, endeavored by their means to secure to France the territory east of the Kennebec.

The treaty of Utrecht, however, in 1713, gave up to England all that France claimed on the Atlantic, and the Abnakis thus became again English Indians. Converts to the Church of Rome, they could in vain expect such spiritual guides as they chose from those who now claimed their allegiance; their missionaries were accordingly French, and their former intercourse was thus kept up with Quebec, to which they naturally turned in the collisions now daily arising between them and the encroaching settlers. Treated with cruelty and perfidy by the English, they at last broke out in open war, and desolated the frontiers till, broken by repeated losses, they submitted about the year 1726. Shortly before, in 1724, their chief town, Norridgewock, had been a second time taken, and their missionary, the celebrated Father Rale, killed by the New England troops. The colonists of New England, shutting their eyes to the wrongs which the Abnakis had really suffered, threw all the odium of the war on Father Rale, for it was the period of religious hostility; but, in the absence of proof that he actually excited them to hostilities, there appear no grounds for the imputations cast upon him. After his death, many of the tribe joined the other villages in Maine or Canada; and in a few years Norridgewock was completely deserted. The Penobscots and Passammaquoddies, however, remained in their old seats, attended by missionaries, down to the fall of Canada; and, when our Revolution broke out, they joined the colonies, asking for French priests.

These, and the St. Francis Indians in Canada, now comprise the Abnaki nation, which, though recognized as subject to New England as late as 1651, and from 1713 to the present time, still bears deeply imprinted the religion and manners imparted by the French during the half century of their influence.

The journal, which portrays a Jesuit, following up Winthrop's advance, and urging New England to throw her protecting ægis over the Abnakis against the Iroquois, shows how easily the Puritans might have avoided their fiercest border war.

High as were the hopes of Father Druilletes of the success of his embassy, it ultimately failed; the Abnakis became the enemies, the Iroquois the friends of the English; yet in the end the former sided with the Colonists, the latter against them; and the Catholic Orono fought under the fir tree banner of the revolted colonies, while the Mohawk Brant ravaged our frontier towns.

NEGOTIATIONS

BETWEEN

NEW ENGLAND AND CANADA,

1648–51.

I.

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE, MADE FOR THE ABNAQUIOIS MISSION, AND INFORMATION ACQUIRED OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE DISPOSITIONS OF THE MAGISTRATES OF THAT REPUBLIC, FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE IROQUOIS. THE WHOLE BY ME, GABRIEL DRUILLETES, OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.*

I left Quebec for that mission, the first of September, by order of my Superior, and with a passport and permit of Monsieur d'Ailleboust, Lieutenant-General for the King and Governor in the whole River St. Lawrence, accompanied by

* Gabriel Druilletes was born in France in the year 1593. Having entered the Society of Jesus, he solicited a Foreign Mission, and was, after many years, sent in 1643 to Canada. He embarked at Rochelle, on the 8th of May, with Garreau and Chabanel, both of whom lost their lives amid their Apostolic labors. Druilletes was immediately destined to the Algonquins, and applied to the study of that wide-spread language. His labors began as soon as he was able to make himself understood, and in 1644 he wintered with a party of wandering Indians.

The torment caused by the smoke of an Indian Cabin, was such as to surpass endurance, and the vivid description of Father Lejeune in the Relation of 1634, shows how much the heroic Missionaries suffered to win their neophytes to Christ. Father Druilletes was more severely tried than any of his predecessors; his eyesight gradually failed, and he became at last entirely blind. Hundreds of leagues of snow and ice, of mountain and forest, cut him off from the French posts, and the well-meant but clumsy attempts of the Indians to restore his sight, made his blindness incurable. He was now led about by a child, and they even proposed tying him on a sledge and dragging him to Quebec. He laughed at this, and advised a recourse to God by prayer. All in the vicinity were invited to assemble for the purpose; by their help he arranged his chapel furniture, and began a votive Mass in honor of the Blessed Virgin, which frequent repetition had so indelibly imprinted on his mind, that he needed no missal. As he proceeded with the Holy Sacrifice, his neophytes prayed with fervor, and when after the Consecration he elevated the Sacred Host, his eyes were opened and he saw what he had adored in darkness. From that moment his eyesight never dimmed amid the smoke of the lodges, where he passed many a dreary winter.

Noel Negabamat, Chief of Sillery, bearing moreover a letter of credit to speak on behalf of said Sieur d'Ailleboust to the Governors and Magistrates of said Country.

I arrived at Narantsouat (Norridgewock), which is the highest town of the Abnaquiois Indians, on the River Kenebec, fifteen or sixteen leagues from the highest English settlement on that river, which is sixteen leagues from the mouth.

I arrived on St. Michael's eve, at this highest English

This wonderful cure, which he ascribed to the faith of his neophytes, filled him with new courage and confidence in the protection of the Almighty.

After spending the next year at Sillery, he was, as we have seen, sent to winter with the Abnakis. He set out on the 29th of August, 1646, and after suffering much privation and hardship, recompensed by an abundant spiritual harvest, returned on the 16th of June, 1647, and a few days after, a stranger to repose, set out as chaplain to a party marching against the Iroquois. Indeed, till his return to the Abnakis in 1650, as given in the present Journal, we find him constantly engaged in his laborious duties at Sillery, with wandering parties on the upper St. Lawrence, or around Tadoussac, in almost daily peril of death by starvation. At the latter place, he, in 1650, first preached to the Oumamioukis, or people of Anticosti, and then proceeded to the country of the Oupapinachiouk, who now, for the first time invited the Missionary to their villages. From September, 1650, to March, 1657, he was constantly with the Abnakis, except for a few days spent at Three Rivers, in June, 1651, and the time of his embassies in New England; for he was on two occasions sent as ambassador of the French, first alone in 1650, and the second time with the Sieur Godefroy, in 1651.

He was Superior at Three Rivers in 1655, but chosen the next year to found the Ottawa Mission on Lake Superior, he set out with his old fellow voyager, Garreau; when that Missionary was killed at Montreal, Druilletes was left behind by the Ottawas, and returned for the last time to his beloved Abnakis, who had adopted him as a Chief.

In 1661, he set out with Father Dablon for the Kristineaux Mission, and leaving Tadoussac in June, ascended the Saguenay to the River Nekouba and Lake St. John. The approach of the Mohawks prevented his further progress, and after renewing the faith of his scattered flock, he returned to Tadoussac, where we find him sent again, year after year, carrying the Cross through all the neighboring country.

In 1666, he was at Three Rivers, instructing the celebrated Marquette in Montagnais, but both were soon to labor on the Western Lakes.

In 1669, unless the manuscript of Perrot errs, he was at Sault Ste. Marie, on Lake Superior, and the latest relations ten years later, speak of him as still laboring there, though broken with age and toil. He was, however, near the close of his long and useful career. Returning to Quebec, he died there on the 8th of April, 1681, universally regretted and revered as a Saint. Few, indeed, of the Apostles of Canada, were more frequently invoked. "The fact is," says Charlevoix, "no Missionary then labored with more fruit in Canada, because Heaven had made him powerful alike in work and word," and he, like many others, relates wonderful interpositions of Divine Power, ascribed to the interest of Druilletes' prayers.

The sources for his life are the Relations, printed and manuscript, the Journal of the Superior, which fixes the year of this Journal and many important dates, the present narrative, and for his death, a letter in the collection of Paris Documents at Boston and Charlevoix.

settlement, which both by English and Indians is called Coussinoc, and the following day, the feast of him whom we have chosen as patron and guide of our voyage, said Noel and I spoke to the agent of the said settlement, accompanied by the Abnaquiois, to whom we had spoken on the way. Noel, speaking with his present, a bundle of beaver skins, said: "The Governor of the River St. Lawrence, by the Father who stands here to those of your nation, and I as ally join my word to his, not to speak to thee alone, but rather to tell thee to embark my word, that is to say, my present to carry it to the Governor of Plymouth." The said Agent assured them that he would do with the said Governor and said Magistrates, all that could be expected from a good friend, whereupon Noel and the Abnaquiois demanded that I should go with him myself, to present the letters of the said Sieur Governor, and explain his intentions according to the letter of credit which he had, and to bear the word of the Christians of Sillery * and the Catechumens of the River Kennebec.

The agent, by name John Winslow, citizen Merchant of the Colony of Plymouth, who is of a very good disposition, as we shall say hereafter, answered: "I love and respect the Patriarch." (This name is applied to me on this river, and on all the Acadian Coast.†) "I will lodge him in my house, and I will treat him as my own brother, for I well know the good that he does among you, and the life that he leads there." This he said because he had a particular zeal for the conversion of the Indians, as well as his brother Edward Winslow, Agent for said New England at the Parliament of Old England, who is endeavoring to found a Society to bring up and instruct the Indians, as is done with the charity poor at London.‡

The other particulars are in the letters which I wrote, as

* Sillery was an Algonquin-Montagnais Mission, founded near Quebec, by the generosity of Noel Brulart de Sillery, Knight of Malta, in 1642. It was for many years a most flourishing seat of Indian progress, but war and disease at last reduced it, so that the few survivors removed with the Abnakis to the River Chaudière, and thence to St. Francis.

† This name had been given to Messire Josué Fleche, the first Priest on the Acadian Coast, who had come over with Potrincourt, prior to the arrival of the Jesuits under Father Biart, whose settlement in Maine was in 1613 destroyed by Argal. The title Patriarch came in all probability from the seamen, and was their common term for a clergyman.

‡ This was the "Corporation for propagating the Gospel among the Indians," chartered by Act of Parliament, July 27, 1649, which names Winslow among the first members.

well to the said Governor at Quebec, as to my Superior on the 15th of November.*

I left Coussinoc (Augusta) by land, with the said agent, inasmuch as the vessel that was to carry us had some cause of delay in waiting for the Indians, and feared to be surprised by the ice. We had, therefore, to go ten leagues to embark by sea at Marimitin (Merry meeting), which the Indians call Nassouac (Naxoat). This was a painful march, especially to the agent, who is already somewhat in years, and who assured me that he would never have undertaken it, if he had not given his word to Noel.

On the 25th we sailed, and by the way met, at Temeriskau (Damariscotta), some English fishermen, some of whom grumbled at the said agent for bringing a Frenchman along the coast, who was a spy to help the French, who were about to ravage their settlements.

Contrary winds were the reason why we reached Kepam (Cape Ann), which forms the Cape of the great Bay of Boston, only on the 5th of December. They also forced us to go partly by land and partly by boat, to pass across the great Bay to Charleston (*sic*), where we crossed the river which separates it from Boston, at which place we arrived on the 8th. The chief men of Charleston, learning that I came on behalf of the said Sieur Governor, hastened to notify Major General Gebin (Gibbons), to be at his office on my arrival.

The agent, John Winslow (whom I hereafter call my Pereira,† on account of the affection which he has always shown me), having made his report to the said Sieur Gebin on the object of my voyage, he received me as a real ambassador from said Sieur Governor, and gave me the key of a room in his house, where I might in all liberty pray and perform the exercises of my religion, and he besought me to take no other lodgings while I remained at Boston.

The next day, the 8th, the said Sieur Gebin, accompanied by ——, took me to ——, from Boston to a village called Rogsbray (Roxbury), where Sieur Dudley, Governor of Boston, was at the time. I presented him my letter of credit

* Unfortunately none of these papers, referred to, have been found.

† An allusion to Pereira, a Portuguese merchant, the devoted friend of St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies. It may be that Winslow had called Druilletes his Xavier, and that the Missionary, in turn, gave him that of Pereira.

from said Sieur Governor. Having opened it, he commanded an interpreter to translate it from French into English.

I told him that I came to speak on behalf of Noel and the Christians of Sillery, as also of the Catechumens of the Abnaquiois who had made me their ambassador to him. He assigned me, as the day of audience, the following Tuesday, December 13th, giving orders to notify the magistrates to repair to Boston on that day.

On the 13th the said Governor of Boston and the magistrates invited me to dinner, and after it gave me audience. Besides the magistrates and the secretary, there was present one man, as deputy of the people, whom they call representative.

I was particularly urgent on behalf of the Abnaquiois, who had been killed by the Iroquois (this is in the letter written to Father Lejeune, in Article 8), after which I was told to withdraw, and soon after invited to supper, after which they gave me the answer which is in the other letter in the aforesaid article.

In consequence of the character I had assumed of ambassador of my Catechumens of the Kenebec, they told me that Boston had no interest in it, that I must apply to Plymouth.

I left Boston on the 21st of said month of December, for Plimouth, where I arrived the next day with my said (Pereira) who lodged me with one of the five farmers* of Coussinoc, named Padis (Paddy). The Governor of the place, by name John Brentford (W. Bradford), received me with courtesy and appointed the next day for audience, and then invited me to a dinner of fish, which he prepared on my account, learning that it was Friday. I met with much favor at this settlement, for the Farmers, and among others Capt. Thomas Willets spoke to the Governor on behalf of my negotiation, and then we had the discussions which are contained in the letter in Article —

I left on the 24th, and returned by land to Boston, accompanied by the son and nephew of my said Pereira who paid all my expenses. On the way I reached Rogsbray, where the Minister named Master Heliot, who was instructing some Indians, received me in his house, as night had surprised me. He treated me with respect and affection, and invited me to pass the winter with him.†

* Merchants who farmed the trade.—*See Williamson's Maine*, 1, 366.

† This friendly connection of the two eminent founders of the Catholic

The next day, the 29th, I arrived at Boston, and proceeded to Major Gen. Guebin's.

The 30th of said month I spoke to Mr. Ebeny (Ellery), one of the magistrates, who declared that he was very glad that the Governor of Plymouth was willing to give the aid against the Iroquois, saying that it was very reasonable to help fellow Christians, though of another religion, and particularly against a pagan persecutor of Christians. He presented me the answer of the Governor and magistrates of Boston to that of the Governor.

The last day of said month I returned to Rogsbray to ask said Governor Dudley to insert in the letter assurance for the passage of the French, who would wish to go by Boston against the Iroquois. Grasping my hand, he said: "Assure your Governor that we will be his good friends and servants, whatever war may occur between the crowns. I am very glad that the Governor of Plymouth is disposed to afford the aid you desire against the Iroquois. I will aid him with all my power."

The 1st of January I wrote the whole state of affairs to Father Lejeune, by an English ship which sailed the 8th of the same month, the said Mr. Guebins wrote to Mr. de Latour and addressed the whole to Rouen, to the Sieur Rosée. I asked Father Lejeune to send an answer as well to Boston as to our Governor, by the Gaspé fishermen. The tenor is in the letter in Article —.

I wrote also to Mr. Edward Winslow, at the solicitation of (my Pereira) his brother, begging him to write in favor of our affair to the magistrates of New England.

Some time after I wrote to Mr. Wintrop, son of the late Sieur Wintrop, heretofore governor of Boston, who is one of the principal magistrates of the Colony of Kenetigout (Connecticut),* a very good friend, from what they say, of the French and Indians.

The 3d of said month, I spoke with Sieur Gebin, who told me that he would do what he could for the aid against the Iroquois, but that he believed the Boston people not much inclined to it, but that he believed, that there would be not-

and Puritan Missions among the New England Indians, has hitherto escaped notice; and shows that though traditional prejudice had led to a penal law against the Jesuits, in 1649, those intrepid missionaries won alike the admiration and esteem of the stern Puritans of the Coast.

* The English documents of the time have Conitaquit and Canitaquot.—*See Hutchinson Papers*

withstanding a means of humbling the Iroquois; perhaps he founds his designs on a new discovery which he has set on foot near New Sweden.

The 5th the said Sieur Guebin conducted me to the port and commended me very particularly to Thomas Yau, master of a vessel clearing for the Kenebec.

The 9th of said month bad weather stopped us at Morbletz (Marblehead) where there is a quantity of people. The minister, by name William Walter, received me with great affection, in company with him I went to Salem to speak to the Sieur Indicott (Endecot), who speaks and understands French well and is a good friend of the nation and very earnest to have his children inherit this affection. Seeing that I had no money, he defrayed my expenses and invited me to the table of the magistrates, who for a week were giving audience to every body.

At his request I left him in letter form, a proxy to act efficaciously during the general court of Boston, which was to be held on the 13th of May. He assured me that he would do his best to bring the Boston colony to consent to it. He told me that it served as a rule for the others, and that the Governor of Plymouth had just ground to insist on obtaining this of the colonies. On my departure he told me that he had thoroughly read what I left in writing, on behalf of our Governor and my Catechumens, and that he perfectly understood it; that he would dispatch a man to bring me a letter at the Kennebec; that as soon as he could he would tell me what he had done in the matter and had obtained of the magistrates.

The 24th of January I arrived at Peskatigȣet (Piscataqua), which is twenty leagues from Boston. Here I learned in full the story of Captain Ki——, who, somewhere about the month of July, took off Cape Breton, a French fisherman, named Elie Cousturier de la Tremblade. The capture was estimated at 700 pistoles. Mr. Chapellier (Nicholas Shapleigh) Vice-Governor of Agamenticos (York), which is two leagues from Peskatigȣet, assured me that all were indignant at this capture, that Boston had fined him a hundred pistoles, and every sailor forty; in a word, that it was seen, that Heaven itself declared against him; a violent north-east wind having wrecked the vessel which he had used in surprising this poor French Huguenot, in virtue of a commission

which the Archduke Leopold gave him in the year forty-seven, to the extent of fourteen thousand pistoles.

Pierre Tibaud, a good Catholic, confirmed all this story, as an eye-witness. Seeing this vessel, on which he was a sailor, wrecked, he obtained of Master Thomas Yau leave to come to Canada about the month of May. He is a young sailor of St. Nazaire, on the river of Nantes, a good interpreter for English, Flemish, Dutch, and Spanish, who can act as pilot for all the coast from New England to Virginia. I gave him my word that he would be received as a sailor at Quebec at sixteen livres a month, as he had been among the English.

The 25th at Peskatig8et Thomas Yau, master of the bark that was taking me to Kenebec, of his own accord asked me for a simple certificate of the peace and good understanding between New England and New France, in order to go about the month of April or May to Isle percée with thirty tons of Indian corn besides other goods.

The 7th of February at Tameriskau the fishermen showed me much affection; they were the very ones who had regarded me as a spy, when going to Boston.

The 8th of February I came to the river Kenebec, where I continue my interrupted mission. All the English who are on this river have received me with great marks of affection.

The 13th of April, Mr. John Winslow, my true (Pereira), returned from Plimouth and Boston to K8ssinoc, assures me that all the magistrates and the two commissioners of Pleym8th have given their word and resolved that they must press the other colonies to join them against the Iroquois in favor of the Abnaquiois, who are under the protection of that colony of Pleym8th, which holds the seigniory of K8ssinoc, and for its seignorial rights takes the sixth of what arises from the trade. Besides this Mr. Brentford, the Governor, who is one of the five merchants or farmers who furnish all that is necessary for the trade, had already, on the 20th of March, sent Captain Thomas Wilhet (a man much inclined to the Abnaquiois, with whom he had formed acquaintance at K8ssinoc during several years), with letters pressing the aid against the Iroquois, to the Governors of Harfort or Kenetig8t, which is on the river of the Sok8ckiois, fifty leagues from Pleym8th and of Nieuf Haven, or K8inopiers (Quinnipiac), which is ten leagues from Harfort, and

even to the Governor of Manate, to prevent his selling any more arms to the Iroquois, and to speak to him positively so that he will not only not oppose those who would attack the Iroquois, but even assist the English in their design, in pursuance of the Union into which he entered with New England some years ago.

The Captain's orders are to be at Nieuf Haven or Kŏinopeia to solicit the Commissioners or Deputies of the four colonies, who are to assemble there.

He adds that the common report at Boston, where he had been ten or fifteen days, was that Mr. Indicott would be Governor of that colony at the first General Court, which would be held about the 17th of May.

The same and the letters of some persons at Boston, assure me that the common opinion of the citizens of Boston is that if the Republic will not undertake this aid against the Iroquois by public authority, individuals are ready as volunteers for this expedition on the simple permission to said request, as in favor of Mr. Guebins for Monsieur Latour, some troops went against the late Mr. Daunay.

The 24th of April the Sokŏckiois) * arrive, bearing the word of four towns—namely, of the Sokŏckiois, the Pagamptagŏe, the Penagŏc (Pennacook), and the Mahingans (Mohegans), situated on the river of Manate. They reply to the proposition which I had made when speaking to them last fall (Nov. 18th). The Abnaquiois joining me had presented to the Sokŏckiois fifteen belts, and ten or twelve bracelets of wampum (which may be estimated at seven or eight packs of beaver), to say to them : " Do what Onontio and Tekŏirimaeth tell you."

The Sokŏkiois says that these four towns having held Council during three months last winter, had resolved to risk it against the Iroquois with Onontio (the French Governor) and Noel, whether the English undertake the war against the Iroquois or not, and when the Iroquois is exterminated, against every other nation that shall make war on Quebec.

* This name enjoys, like most Indian names, an admirable variety in point of orthography. It must not, however, be confounded with the Souriquois or Micmacs, a different tribe. The Sokokiois are supposed by some to have left their name to Saco; and Druilletes subsequently calls the Connecticut their river, as though they lay on it. They were certainly between the Abnakis and the Mohawks.

2d. He adds that many other nations allied to them will accompany them in war, especially one called Nδtchihuict, very numerous and feared by the Iroquois. It lies between the Mahingans and Manate.

He offers Noel Tekδirimaeth either now at once to wipe away the blood of the Algonquins and Sokδckiois, who have been inadvertently killed, not recognizing each other, or to wait till after the death of the Iroquois to make the satisfaction, which they are accustomed to make one another in such cases.

Reflections on the hopes given us by the Indians.

It is certain that all the Indian tribes in New England hate the Iroquois, and fear that he will exterminate them after the Hurons and Algonquins: he has already tomahawked several whom he met hunting beaver, and has never made any satisfaction.

Moreover it is certain that the Sokδckiois have been closely allied to the Algonquins, and are very glad to deliver themselves from the annual tribute of wampum, which the Iroquois exacts, in order to avenge the death of many of their countrymen killed by the said Iroquois. Besides this they hope for the beaver hunt near Quebec after the death of the Iroquois.

Lastly, it is sure that the single nation of Nδtchihaut, which has arms, suffices at least to divert the Iroquois so well as to leave him no leisure to do us any injury of importance.

Reflections on what may be hoped from New England against the Iroquois.

1st. I suppose as a certain fact that the English of the four united colonies—namely, Boston, Pleymδth, Kenetigδt, (Hartford), and Kδinopeia (New Haven), have a very good hand for exterminating Indian nations; they have exterminated two "usque ad mingentem ad parietem."

They are so powerful in point of number that four thousand men can be put on foot in the single colony of Boston. There are at least forty thousand souls in these four colonies, and then the road leading to the Iroquois is short and easy.

2nd. I suppose the express article of their union (which

enacts that without the consent of the Commissionaries or Deputies of these four colonies, none of the colonies can undertake any offensive war; for this purpose the deputies must assemble to deliberate thereon, and three colonies must consent to the aid, so as to carry it by plurality of votes.

Now, this I think supposes that we have pretty good hope of this aid by means of the English, because we have a moral assurance that three of the four Colonies are for consenting to it.

II. The Governor of Pleymȣth with all the Magistrates, not only consents, but presses this affair in favor of the Abnaquiois, who are under the protection of the colony of Pleymȣth.

The whole colony has no trifling interest in it, because by its right of seigniory, it annually takes the sixth part of all that arises from the trade on that river Quinebec. And the Governor himself in particular, who, with four other of the most considerable citizens, are, as it were, farmers of this trade, would lose much, losing all hope of the commerce of the Kennebec and Kebec, by means of the Abnaquiois, which will soon infallibly happen if the Iroquois continues to kill and hunt to death the said Abnaquiois, as he has done for some years past.

The Governor has a strong precedent for obtaining this aid, all the Colonies having undertaken a war in behalf of an Indian nation on the river of Picot (Pequot), called Morthigander,* because the Colony of Kenetigȣt, having said nacion under its protection, called on the other three Colonies to undertake the war.

See more at length in the copy of the letter written to the Rev. Father Lejeune, in Art.

What this Governor has answered, is to the point, and then all assure me that this Governor's influence is all-powerful.

2nd. The Vice-Governor of Boston, named Mr. Indicott, who is now probably Governor, has pledged his word to do all in his power to bring the Boston magistrates to consent and unite with the Governor of Plymȣth. All the Boston magistrates write that they will recommend it earnestly to the deputies.

* The allusion here defies all our knowledge.

Boston's interest is the hope of a good trade with Quebec, especially as that which it has with Virginia and the isle of Barbade and St. Christhopf is on the point of being destroyed by the war excited by the Parliamentarians to exterminate there the authority of the Governors who still hold for the king of England.

This interest has made the Boston merchants say in advance, that if the Republic makes any difficulty about sending troops the volunteers will be satisfied with a simple permission for the expedition.

3d. The principal magistrate of the colony of Kenetigöt named Mr. Wintrop, son of the late Mr. Wintrop, who first wrote to Quebec about the trade, likes the French greatly, and will probably do what he can for the aid, after the letter which I wrote him praying him to finish what his father had begun.

As for the Governor of Kösinopeia, since all the world protest he is a most reasonable man, there is some appearance that if he does not urge the matter, he will at least not hinder it, seeing it urged by Boston and Plymöth, the two most considerable colonies, and, as it were, the rule of the others. Besides this I have with Mr. John Winslow written to Mr. Edward Winslow, the agent of these four colonies in England, to induce him to write a word in favor of the Indian Christians and Catechumens, whom he tenderly loves. A word from him is all powerful on the minds of the deputies of these four colonies.

Lastly, what I have represented on behalf of the Governor of Quebec and the Christian Indians seems so urgent that they can scarcely excuse their conduct if they do not resolve to aid.

This is the whole at length. At least this favorable disposition of the three colonies suffices to make us hope for a permission for such volunteers as would like to strike a blow, or at least letters of favor for the province of Mariland, all composed of English Catholics, who are quite near the Iroquois.

II.

REPORT OF FATHER DRUILLETES.

(FERLAND, *Notes sur les Registres de Notre Dame de Quebec.* Page 70–2.)

I arrived here on the eighth of December, the feast of the Conception; and not without a special Providence. The Barque of my guide and governor, who is the Agent at Kenebaka, named John Winslow, was surprised by the ice, and we were accordingly compelled to march about a hundred leagues, according to what they say, partly by land and partly by water.

On the 9th, I was conducted by my introducer, and the Major General of this place, Mr. Quebin, (Gibbons*) (a great friend of M. de la Tour, and afterwards of the Governor of Kebec, when he heard that said M. de la Tour had been well treated at Kebec,) to the house of Mr. Dutley, (Dudley), Governor of all the Colony of Boston. He resides half a league from here. I presented the letter of credit from the Governor of Kebec, and solicited audience as ambassador and agent, not only in the name of the Governor, according to the tenor of the letter, but also on behalf of the Abnaquóis Catechumens, who are under the jurisdiction of Pleymoutch, (Plymouth,) which is another Colony; this my poor habit and equipage showed, likening me more to a savage than to a Frenchman of moderate condition. . . .

The day of my audience was deferred till the following Tuesday, as the Governor of this place had to assemble the magistrates on that day for some other matter. Before stating here what I have done for my twofold embassy, I feel it necessary to give you some information of the state and government of this country.

All New England is a republic, composed of four colonies. The first and most considerable is that of Boston, which has, they say, forty towns or villages in its dependence or district. The second is that of Pleymoutch, fourteen leagues from here; this has twenty towns or villages, of which Pleymoutch is the principal one, but much less than Boston, although it is the oldest of all; it is situated near Cape Malle-

* Gibbons was Major General from 1649 to his death in 1654. JOSSELYN, *Chronological Observations.* Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, III., iii., 386–8.

barre, (Cod.) The third is that of Kenetigouc, (Connecticut,) thirty or forty leagues from the second. This has about ten towns, one of which alone has 500 men, they say. Kenetigouc is the river of the Sokokiois. The fourth is that of Kouinopeia, (Quinnipiack,) ten leagues from the third. This has only 4 or 6 villages on the coast towards Manathe, (Manhattan,) from which it is 30 leagues distant, or thereabouts. From Manathe to the largest English settlement is about 20 leagues.

All these 4 colonies are united by the articles of Confederation, one of which requires that no colony in private shall determine any thing for any war whatever, without the knowledge and consent of the Assembly of the States of the whole country; it is called the Council or Court of the Commissioners, who are 8 in number, that is to say, two deputies for each colony. They are to assemble at Kouinipeia (New Haven) at the first session, which is not held usually till the month of September. They themselves when they assemble choose one of their number who presides.

Besides the Council of the States for the whole country, each separate colony has a council composed of its Governor, Vice Governor, and a certain number of counsellors whom they call magistrates. This separate council gives audience according to the causes which arise during the year. All the officers of this separate Court are created and confirmed in the month of May, which is the time when the general Court of all the colony is held, that is to say, the upper house, composed of the most considerable men of the colony, and the lower house composed of the deputies of the people. It assembles in the chief town of the colony. It was this separate Court of Boston which gave me audience after inviting me to dinner on the 13th of December.

III.

LETTER ADDRESSED BY THE COUNCIL OF QUEBEC TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF NEW ENGLAND.

(CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, *I.*, 287.)

GENTLEMEN:

The gentlemen of Boston having a few years ago proposed to establish commercial intercourse between New France and New England, the Council appointed by His Majesty in this

country, united its answer to the letters which our Governor addressed to your colonies, the tenor of which was, that we should willingly enter into the commerce, and at the same time into a union of hearts and minds between our colonies and yours; but that we should at the same time desire to enter into an offensive and defensive league with you against the Iroquois, our enemies, who would prevent the commerce, or at least render it less advantageous for us both. The obligation resting on you, it seems to us, to check the insolence of these Iroquois Indians, who massacre the Sokokinois and the Abenaquinois, your allies, and the facility with which you can conduct this war if properly undertaken, are two reasons which induce us to continue the negotiation with you in your Court of Commissioners. We have requested our Governor to write to you strongly; and this is to join our endeavors to his, and to assure you of the disposition of our hearts and of all those in New France for this commerce with New England, and for the designs of this war against the Iroquois, who must be our common enemies. Besides the Sieur de Dreuillettes who this winter began the negotiation, we have requested the Sieur Godefroy, Councillor of our body, to form our embassy. The merit of these two deputies inspires us with hopes of the successful issue of the plan; they are endowed with the necessary powers for this purpose; that is to say, both to establish solidly, intercourse between us, and to relieve you in the expenses necessary for carrying on the proposed war against the Iroquois.

We beg you to hear them and act with them as you would with us, with that frankness which is natural to the English, as to us French. The Almighty will, we doubt not, bless your arms and ours, as they will be employed in the defence of Christian Indians, your allies and ours, against heathen savages, who have no faith, no God, no justice in their course, as you may learn in detail from our said Deputies, who will assure you of the sincere desire which we entertain that heaven may ever continue to bless your provinces, and load you, gentlemen, with his favors.

Given in the Chamber of the Council established by the King at Quebec in New France, this twentieth of June, one thousand six hundred and fifty-one.

IV.

APPOINTMENT OF SIEUR GODEFROY AND FATHER DRUILLETES.

[Extract from the Registers of the Old Council of this Country, June 20, 1651.]

(CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, I. 288.)

The Council assembled at nine o'clock in the morning. Present, the Governor, the Reverend Father Superior, Messrs. de Mauze, Godefroy and Menoil, on the proposition made to the Council touching a certain rescription, made by the Council in the year 1648 to the Commissioners of the States of New England, for the formation of a union between the colonies of New France and New England, in order to trade together. The Council, wishing to meet their request, has appointed and appoints the Sieur Godefroy one of the Councillors of the Council established by His Majesty in this country, to proceed with the Reverend Father Dreuilletes to said New England to the said Commissioners, to treat and act with them, according to the powers given them by the Council, a copy whereof is inserted à la liasse: as also a copy of a letter addressed to the said Commissioners of New England by this Council. And as to the merchandize brought by one Thomas Yost, on the assurance and good faith of Rev. Father Dreuilletes, the Council has resolved to send to meet him, to appoint him a place where to land them, and that in due time.

Louis d'Ailleboust, Lieutenant General for the King and Governor of all New France, &c., GREETING:

Having been requested and urged both by the Christian Indians depending on our government and by the Abénaquinois, dwelling on the river *Kinibequi*, and others their allies, to protect them against the attacks of the Iroquois, their common enemies, as had been heretofore done by the Sieur de Montmagny, our predecessor in this government, and they having anew shown us that all their nations would be entirely destroyed, unless we interfered, We, for these causes, and for the good of this colony, and according to special orders given us by the Queen Regent, Mother of the King, to protect the Indians against their said enemies,

have deputed and depute, with the advice of the Council established in this country, and some of the most notable settlers, the Sieurs Gabriel Dreuilletes, preacher of the Gospel to the Indian Nations, and John Godefroy, one of the Councillors of the said Council, Ambassadors for them to the Gentlemen of New England, to treat, either with the Governors and Magistrates of New England, or at the General Court of the Commissioners and Deputies of the United Colonies, for aid in men, munitions and provisions, to attack the said Iroquois on the most proper and convenient spots; as also to settle the articles, which shall be deemed necessary, to secure this Treaty; and to accord to the said Sieurs of New England the commerce which they requested of us in their letter of the year 1647, with the articles, clauses and conditions, which they shall deem necessary, awaiting the arrival of the Ambassador whom we shall send on our behalf to ratify and finally conclude what they agree upon.

We request all Governors, Lieutenant Governors, Captains and others to let them pass freely, &c.

V.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED COLONIES TO THE GOVERNOR OF CANADA.

(HAZARD, *Historical Collections*, II. 183.)

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR, AND MUCH HONORED GENTLEMEN:

We have receaved youer severall letters, perused youer Commissions, presented by youer honered agents, and seriusly considered what hath been by them either in writing or by conference propounded, conserning those injuries and hostile attempts made by som of the Mohaukes upon some of youer naighbouring easteren Indians, of whom (as wee are enformed) som are converted to the Christian Faith and others are willing to bee taught and may in time prove Desiples to our saveing Lord and Master; as such wee pity them, but see not how wee can protect or afford the healp desired, without exposing the smaler English Plantations, and our owne naighbouring Indians (of which some allsoe professe Christianitye) to danger. Wee can give due credits to youer deputies, and can conceave you may have just grounds for a

warr, but we have yett no cause of just quarrell with the Mohaukes nor is it safe for us to engage in a controversy which wee neither doe nor have means satisfyingly to understand, the Mohaukes neither being in subjection to nor in any confederacon with us: wee are free to hold a naighbourly correspondency with you, and would have settled a free comerce betwixt the English and French collonies, but your Agents thought it either unseasonable till maters were composed betwixt the Mohaukes and your Indians, or els propounded such restrictions as would have taken away all conveniency and freedome from the trade. What hath hindred our present closure, the enclosed writing will shew; but if a fitter oppertunitie bee offered, wee shall not bee wanting to contribute to a more satisfying Issue. In the meanetime wee rest.

NEWHAVEN, *Sept.* 6, 51.

VI.

AN ANSWARE TO THE PROPOSITIONS PRESENTED BY THE HONORED FRENCH AGENTS TO THE PRESIDENT AND COMMISSIONERS OF THE ENGLISH UNITED COLONIES.

(HAZARD, *Historical Collections*, II. 184.)

1. Upon due consideracion and respecte to what the honered deputyes from the illustrius Governor of New France have enformed, and upon experience ourselves have had of the insolency and treachery of som of the barbarians, wee can conseaue and graunt, that the French and those easteren Indians may have just grounds to theire owne satisfaction for a warr against the Mohaukes.

2. The English looke upon all such Indians as receive the yoake of Christ with another eye than upon others that worship the Divill.

3. The English desire by all just meanes to keep peace (if it may bee) with all men, even with these Barbarians.

4. The Mohaukes liveing at a Distance from the Sea have little entercourse in these parts; but in the warr the English had with the Indians 14 or 16 yeares sence, the Mohaukes shewed a reall respecte, and have not sence donn any knowne hostele actes against them.

5. The English engage not in any warr, before they have full and satisfying evidence, that in all respects and

considerations it is just, and before peace upon just tearms hath been offered and refused.

6. The Mohawkes are neither in Subjection nor league with the English, soe that wee can neither require any accoumpt of theire warrs, or other proceedings ;—nor have wee meanes to enform ourselves, what they can say for themselves. If all other considerations were cleered,

7. To make warre with the Mohawkes may endanger all our naighbour Indians (of which divers profess Christianitie) and the rest doe rather expect just protection from us than that wee should expose them, by our volentary inroadeing the Mohawkes.

8. Though the English in these Jurisdictions are free to performe all naighbourly offices of Righteusness and peace, towards the French Collonie: yett they foresee they can neither permitt volenteers or auxiliarye forces to bee taken up against the Mohawkes, nor that the French or Easteren Indians to pase through the English Jurisdictions to envade them, but they shall expose both the Christian and other Indians, and some of the smaler English plantations to danger.

9. The English are much unsatisfied with that mischievius trade the French and Dutch have had and still continew, selling gunns, powder, and shott to all the Indians, of which wee have dayly complaints; and by which the Indians are animated and apt to grow insolent not onely against Indian Converts and Chatechumeni, but against the Christians of Europe.

10. If the English Collonies were assured of the Justice of this warre, and engaged with the French to prosecute against the Mohawkes, yett wee have noe such short and convenient passage either by water or land to approach them, as may be had by Hudson's River, toe and bejond Aurania Forte, which is in the Dutch Jurisdiction.

11. They hope the antient peace and Amitye betwixt England and France wil bee continued and confeirmed, which they both desire and as fare as lyes in them shall by all due meanes readdily promote.

12. They conceive that the honered Deputies have power and authoritie at present to agree and settle a free comerce betweene the English and French Collonies in these parts. But if the said Deputyes upon reasons knowne to themselves see cause to limitt the English Collonies to such Restrictions

or rather prohibitions as the unpriviledged French are under, that they may not trad untill they have first procured a particulare lycense from the Governor and Counsell of New France, at least till they have issued the present differences and settled peace with the Mohawkes; a fitter Season for these treaties must bee attended, which the Comissioner shall readdyly improve when it is presented.

[The English Colonies as in the second Article are ready upon a fit opportunity to shew all due respect to all truly converted and Christian Indians, and much more than to others, but while they live at such a distance from the English Jurisdiction they neither may promise nor afford them any protection to secure them from danger.]*

* This last clause we add from HUTCHINSON, *Collection of Papers*, page 166. The rest we have given from Hazard, where it forms part of the letter of the Commissioners to Edward Winslow.

ORTHOGRAPHY OF DRUILLETES' NAME.

The name of this Father is uniformly written Dreuillettes, by Charlevoix, and is so in the Journal: but from his own signature it is evidently Druilletes, although in one case we find Druillettes. A fac-simile of his signature is given in Shea's History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian tribes—p. 204.

IX.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIRST ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA,

1619.

COMMUNICATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE,

BY

GEORGE BANCROFT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

VIRGINIA, for twelve years after its settlement, languished under the government of Sir Thomas Smith, Treasurer of the Virginia Company in England. The colony was ruled during that period by laws written in blood; and its history shows how the narrow selfishness of despotic power could counteract the best efforts of benevolence. The colonists suffered an extremity of distress too horrible to be described.

In April, 1619, Sir George Yeardley arrived. Of the emigrants who had been sent over at great cost, not one in twenty then remained alive. "In James Citty were only those houses that Sir Thomas Gates built in the tyme of his government, with one wherein the Governor allwayes dwelt, and a church, built wholly at the charge of the inhabitants of that citye, of timber, being fifty foote in length and twenty foot in breadth." At Henrico, now Richmond, there were no more than "three old houses, a poor ruinated Church, with some few poore buildings in the Islande." "For ministers to instruct the people, he founde only three authorized, two others who never received their orders." "The natives he founde uppon doubtfull termes;' so that when the twelve years of Sir Thomas Smith's government expired, Virginia, according to the "judgmentes" of those who were then members of the colony, was "in a poore estate." *

From the moment of Yeardley's arrival dates the real life of Virginia. He brought with him "Commissions and instructions from the Company for the better establishinge of a Commonwealth heere." † He made proclamation, "that those cruell lawes, by which we" (I use the words of the Ancient Planters themselves,) "had soe longe

* "A Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia during the first twelve yeares when Sr. Thomas Smyth was Governor of the Companie, and downe to this present tyme: by the Ancient Planters nowe remaininge alive in Virginia."—*MS. in my possession.*

† "A Briefe Declaration," &c.

been governed, were now abrogated, and that we were to be governed by those free lawes, which his Majesties subjectes live under in Englande." Nor were these considerations made dependent on the good will of administrative officers.

"And that they might have a hande in the governinge of themselves," such are the words of the Planters, "yt was graunted that a generall Assemblie shoulde be helde yearly once, whereat were to be present the Govr and Counsell w$_{th}$ two Burgesses from each Plantation, freely to be elected by the Inhabitantes thereof, this Assemblie to have power to make and ordaine whatsoever lawes and orders should by them be thought good and proffitable for our subsistance."*

In conformity with these instructions, Sir George Yeardley "sente his summons all over the country, as well to invite those of the Counsell of Estate that were absente, as also for the election of Burgesses;" † and on Friday, the 30th day of July, 1619, the first elective legislative body of this continent assembled at James City.

In the relation of Master John Rolfe, inserted by Captain John Smith in his History of Virginia, ‡ there is this meagre notice of the Assembly: "The 25 of June came in the *Triall* with Corne and Cattell all in safety, which tooke from vs cleerely all feare of famine; then our gouernour and councell caused Burgesses to be chosen in all places, and met at a generall Assembly, where all matters were debated, thought expedient for the good of the Colony."

This account did not attract the attention of Beverley, the early Historian of Virginia, who denies that there was any Assembly held there before May, 1620. §

The careful Stith, whose work is not to be corrected without a hearty recognition of his superior diligence and exemplary fidelity, gives an account ‖ of this first legislative body, though he errs a little in the date by an inference from Rolfe's narrative, which the words do not warrant.

The prosperity of Virginia begins with the day, when it received as "a commonwealth," the freedom to make laws for itself. In a solemn Address to King James, which was made during the government of Sir Francis Wyatt, and bears the signature of the Governor,

* "A Briefe Declaration," &c.

† "Proceedings of the first Assembly, now first printed in this volume.

‡ Smith's Generall Historie of Virginia, Richmond edition, Vol. ii., pp. 38, 39.

§ See Beverley's History of Virginia, p. 37 of the first edition, and p. 35 of the second.

‖ Stith's History of Virginia, p. 160, Williamsburg edition.

Council, and apparently every member of the Assembly, a contrast is drawn between the former "miserable bondage," and "this just and gentle authoritye which hath cherished us of late by more worthy magistrates. And we our wives and poore children shall ever praye to God as our bounden duty is, to give you in this worlde all increase of happines, and to crowne you in the worlde to come w$_{th}$ imortall glorye." *

A desire has long existed to recover the record of the Proceedings of the Assembly, which inaugurated so happy a revolution. Stith was unable to find it; no traces of it were met by Jefferson; and Hening,† and those who followed Hening, believed it no longer extant. Indeed, it was given up as hopelessly lost.

Having, during a long period of years, instituted a very thorough research among the papers relating to America in the British State Paper Office, partly in person and partly with the assistance of able and intelligent men employed in that Department, I have at last been so fortunate as to obtain the "Proceedings of the First Assembly of Virginia." The document is in the form of "a reporte" from the Speaker; and is more full and circumstantial than any subsequent journal of early legislation in the Ancient Dominion.

Many things are noticeable. The Governor and Council sat with the Burgesses, and took part in motions and in debates. The Secretary of the Colony was chosen Speaker, and I am not sure that he was a Burgess. This first American Assembly set the precedent of beginning legislation with prayer. It is evident that Virginia was then as thoroughly a Church of England colony, as Connecticut afterwards was a Calvinistic one. The inauguration of legislative power in the Ancient Dominion preceded the existence of negro slavery which we will believe it is destined also to survive. The earliest Assembly in the oldest of the original thirteen States, at its first session, took measures "towards the erecting of" a "University and Colledge." Care was also taken for the education of Indian children. Extravagance in dress was not prohibited; but the ministers were to profit by a tax on excess in apparel. On the whole, the record of these Proceedings will justify the opinion of Sir Edward Sandys, that "they were very well and judiciously carried." The different

* MS. Copy of Address of Sir Francis Wyatt, &c., &c., to King James I., signed by Sir Francis Wyatt and 32 others.

† Hening's Statutes at Large, I., 119, refers to the acts of 1623-4 as "the earliest now extant."

functions of government may have been confounded, and the laws were not framed according to any speculative theory; but a perpetual interest attaches to the first elective body representing the people of Virginia, more than a year before the Mayflower, with the Pilgrims, left the harbor of Southampton, and while Virginia was still the only British Colony on the whole continent of America.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

New York, *October* 3, 1854.

PROCEEDINGS, ETC.

[S. P. O. Am[a] & W. Ind. Virg.: Indorsed Mr. Povy owt of Virginia. The Proceedings of the First Assembly of Virginia, July, 1619.]

A REPORTE of the manner of proceedings in the General Assembly convented at James Citty in Virginia July 30, 1619, consisting of the Gov, the Counsell of Estate, and two Burgesses elected out of eache Incorporation, and Plantation, & being dissolved the 4th of August next ensuing.

First, Sir GEORGE YEARDLEY, knight Governo & Captaine General of Virginia, having sente his sumons all over the Country, as well to invite those of the Counsell of Estate that were absente, as also for the Election of Burgesses, there were chosen & appeared:—

For James Citty:
Captaine WILLIAM POWELL,
Ensigne WILLIAM SPENSE.

For Charles Citty:
SAMUEL SHARPE,
SAMUEL JORDAN.

For the Citty of Henricus:
THOMAS DOWSE, JOHN POLENTINE.

For Kiccowtan:
Captaine WILLIAM TUCKER,
WILLIAM CAPP.

For Martin-Brandon, Capt. John Martin's Plantation:
Mr. THOS. DAVIS, Mr. ROBERT STACY.

For Smythe's Hundred:
Captaine THOMAS GRAVES,
Mr. WALTER SHELLEY.

For Martins Hundred:
Mr. JOHN BOYS, JOHN JACKSON.

For Argals Guifte:
Mr. PAWLETT, Mr. GOURGAINY.

For Flowerdieu Hundred:
Ensign ROSSINGHAM, Mr. JEFFERSON.

For Captaine Lawnes Plantation:
Captaine CHRISTOPHER LAWNE,
Ensign WASHER.

For Captaine Wardes Plantation:
Captaine WARDE, Lieutenant GIBBES.

The most convenient place we could finde to sitt in was the Quire of the churche. Where, Sir George Yeardley, the Governour, being sett downe in his accustomed place, those of the Counsell of Estate sate nexte him on both handes, excepte onely the Secretary, then appointed Speaker, who sate right before him. John Twine, Clerke of the General Assembly being placed nexte the Speaker, & Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant, standing at the barre, to be ready for any service the Assembly should comaund him. But, forasmuche as men's affaires doe little prosper, where God's service is neglected all the Burgesses tooke their places in the Quire, till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the Minister, that it would please God to guide and sanctifie all our proceedinges to his owne glory, and the good of this plantation. Prayer being ended, to the intente that as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed w awfull & due respecte towards his Lieutenant, our most gratious and dread Soveraigne; all the Burgesses were intreatted to retyre themselves into the body of the Churche; wch being done, before they were fully admitted, they were called in order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it,) tooke the oathe of Supremacy, and then entred the Assembly. At Captaine Ward, the Speaker tooke exception, as at one that without any Comission or authority, had seatted himselfe

either upon the Companies, and then his Plantation could not be lawfull, or on Captain Martin's lande, and so he was but a limbe or member of him & so there could be but two Burgesses for all. So Captaine Warde was comanded to absente himselfe, till such time as the Assembly had agreed what was fitt for him to doe. After muche debate they resolved on this Order following :—

An Order concluded by the General Assembly concerning Captaine Warde July 30, 1619, at the opening of the said Assembly.

At the reading of the names of the Burgesses exception was taken against Captaine Warde, as having planted here in Virginia, w^th^out any authority or comission from the Tresurer, Counsell and Company in Englande. But considering he had bene at so great chardge and paines to augmente this Colony, and had adventured his owne person in the action, and since that time had brought home a good quantity of fishe, to relieve the Colony by waye of trade; and above all, because the comission for authorizing the General Assembly, admitteth of two burgesses out of every plantation w^th^out restrainte or exception. Upon all these considerations, the Assembly was contented to admitt of him and his Lieutenant as members of their body and Burgesses into their Society. Provided that the said Captaine Warde wth all expedition, that is to saye, between this and the nexte generall Assembly, (all lawfull impediments excepted,) should procure from the Tresurer, Counsell, and Company in England a Comission lawfully to establishe and plant himselfe and his Company, as the Chieffs of other plantations have done. And in case he doe neglect this, he is to stande to the censure of the nexte generall assembly. To this Captaine Warde in the presence of us all, having given his consente, and undertaken to performe the same, was together with his Lieutenant by voices of the whole Assembly first admitted to take the Oath of Supremacy and then to make up their number, and to sitt amongst them.

This being done the Governour himselfe alledged that before we proceeded any further, it behooved us to examnie, whither it were fitt, that Captaine Martin's Burgesses should have any place in the Assembly, forasmuche as he hath a clause in his Patente, wch doth not onely exempte him from that equality and uniformity of lawes and orders, wch the great charter saith, are to extend over the whole Colony ;

but also from diverse suche lawes as we must be inforced to make in the General Assembly. That clause is as followeth: Item, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Captaine John Martin, his Heyers, Executors, and Assignes, to governe and comaunde all suche person or persons as at this time he shall carry over with him, or that shalbe sente him hereafter, free from any comaunde of the Colony, excepte it be in ayding and assisting the same against any forren or domestical enemy. Upon this motion of the Governour, discussed the same time in the Assembly, ensued this order following:—

An Order of the General Assembly, touching a clause in Captaine Martin's Patent, at James Citty, July 30, 1619.

After all the Burgesses had taken the Oath of Supremacy, and were admitted into the house, and all sett downe in their places, a Copie of Captaine Martin's Patent was produced by the Governour, out of a clause whereof it appeared that when the General Assembly had made some kinde of lawes requisite for the whole Colony, he and his Burgesses and people might deride the whole Company, and chuse whether they would obaye the same or no: the authority of Captaine Martin's Patent, graunted by the Counsell & Company under their comon Seale, being of an higher condition and of greater force, than any acte of the General Assembly. It was therefore ordered in courte, that the foresaid two Burgesses should w^th^drawe themselves out of the Assembly, till suche time as Captaine Martin had made his personall appearance before them. At what time if upon their motion he would be contente to quitte and give over that parte of his Patente, and contrary thereunto woulde submitte himselfe to the Generall forme of Governmente, as all others did, that then his Burgesses should be re-admitted, otherwise they were utterly to be excluded, as being spies, rather than loyal Burgesses, because they had offered themselves to be assistant at the making of lawes, wch both themselves & those whom they represented, might chuse whether they would obaye or not.

Then came there in a complainte against Captaine Martin, that having sent his shallop to trade for corne into the baye, under the comaund of one Ensigne Harrison, the said Ensigne should affirme to one Thomas Davis, of Paspaheighs' Gent (as the said Thomas Davis deposed upon oathe), that they had made a harde voiage, had they not mett wth a Ca-

noa coming out of a Creeke, where their Shallop could not goe. For the Indians refusing to sell their corne, those of the Shallop entered the Canoa wth their armes, and tooke it by force, measuring out the corne wth a baskett they had, into the Shallop, and (as the said Ensigne Harrison saith) giving them satisfaction in copper, beades, and other trucking stuffe. Hitherto Mr. Davys upon his Oath.

Farthermore, it was signified from Opochancano to the Govr, that those people had complained to him to procure them justice. For wch considerations, and because suche outrages as this might breed danger and losse of life to others of the Colony, wch should have leave to trade in the baye hereafter, and for prevention of the like violences against the Indians, in time to come, this order following, was agreed on by theGenerall Assembly.

A second order against Captaine Martin, at James Citty, July 30, 1619.

It was also ordered by the Assembly the same daye, that in case Captain Martin, and the ging of his Shallop could not thoroughly answere an accusation of an outrage comitted against a certain Canoa of Indians in the baye, that then it was thought reason (his Patente notw^th^standing the authority whereof he had in that case abused), he should from henceforth take leave of the Governour, as other men, and should putt in security, that his people shall comitte no suche outrage any more.

Upon this a letter or warrant was drawen in the name of the whole Assembly, to sumon Captaine Martin to appear before them in forme following :—

By the Governour and General Assembly of Virginia.

Captaine Martine, We are to requeste you upon sight hereof with all convenient speed, to repair hither to James Citty, to treatt and conferre wth us about some matters of especial importance wch concerne both us and the whole Colony, and yourselfe. And of this we pray you not to faile.

James Citty, July 30th, 1619.

To our very loving friend,

Captaine John Martin, Esqre., Master of the Ordinance.

These obstacles removed, the Speaker, who a long time had bene extreame sickly, and therefore not able to passe through long Harrangues delivered in briefe to the whole

Assembly, the occasions of their meeting. Which done he read unto them the comission for establishing the Counsell of Estate, and the Generall Assembly, wherein their duties were described to the life.

Having thus prepared them, he read over unto them the great Charter or Comission of privileges, orders and lawes sente by Sir George Yeardley out of Englande, which for the more ease of the Comitties having divided into fower books, he reade the former two the same forenoon for expeditions sake, a second time over; and so they were referred to the perusall of twoe Comittees, wch did reciprocally consider of either, and accordingly brought in their opinions. But some man may here objecte; to what ende we should presume to referre that to the examination of Comitties, wch the Counsell and Company in England had already resolved to be perfect, and did expecte nothing but our assente thereunto. To this we answere, that we did it not to the ende to correcte or controll anything therein contained; but onely in case we should finde ought not perfectly squaring with the State of this Colony, or any lawe wch did presse or binde too harde, that we might by waye of humble petition, seeke to have it redressed; especially because this great Charter is to binde us and our heyers for ever.

The names of the Comitties for perusing the first booke of the fower.

1. Capt. William Powell.
2. Ensigne Rosingham.
3. Capt. Warde.
4. Captain Tucker.
5. Mr. Shelley.
6. Thomas Douse.
7. Sam Jordan.
8. Mr. Boys.

The names of the Comitties for perusing the second booke.

1. Captain Lawne.
2. Capt. Graves.
3. Ensigne Spense.
4. Sam Sharpe.
5. William Cass.
6. Mr. Pawlett.
7. Mr. Jefferson.
8. Mr. Jackson.

These Comitties thus appointed, we brake up the first forenoon's Assembly.

After dinner, the Governour and those that were not of the Comitties sate a seconde time; while the said comitties were employed in the perusall of those twoe bookes. And whereas the Speaker had propounded fower severall ob-

jects for the Assembly to consider on ; namely first the great charter of orders, lawes, and priviledges ; secondly, which of the instructions given by the Counsell in England to my Lo. La Warre, Capt. Argall, or Sir George Yeardley, might conveniently putt on the habite of lawes ; thirdly, what lawes might issue out of the private conceipte of any of the Burgesses or any other of the Colony ; and lastly what Petitions were fitt to be sente home for England. It pleased the Governour for expedition's sake, to have the second objecte of the fower to be examined & prepared by himselfe and the Non-Comitties ; wherein, after having spente some three howers conference, the two Comitties brought in their opinions concerning the twoe former bookes (the second of wch beginneth at these wordes of the Charter : And forasmuche as our intente is to establish one equall and uniforme kinde of Government over all Virginia, &c.) wch the whole Assembly, because it was late, deferred to treatt of till the next morning.

SATTURDAY, July 31st.

The nexte day therefore out of the Opinions of the said Comitties, it was agreed, these petitions ensuing, should be framed to be presented to the Treasurer, Counsell & Company in England. Upon the Comittie's perusall of the first booke, the General Assembly doe become most humble Suitours to their Lo^rs^, and to the rest of that hon^ble^ Counsell and renowned Company, that albeit they have bene pleased to allotte unto the Govr, to themselves, together wth the Counsell of Estate here, and to the Officers of Incorporations certain large portions of lande to be layde out w^thin^ the limits of the same ; yet they woulde vouchsafe alsoe, that suche groundes as heretofore had bene granted by patent to the antient Planters by former Governours, that had from the Company received comiss^n^ so to doe, might not nowe, after so muche labour and coste, and so many yeares habitation be taken from them. And to the ende that no man might doe or suffer any wrong in this kinde, that they woulde favour us so muche (if they mean to graunte this our petition) as to sende us notice, what comission or authority for graunting of landes they have given to each particular Governour in times paste.

The second petition of the Generall Assembly framed by the Comitties out of the second book is : That the Treas-

urer & Company in England, would be pleased wth as muche convenient speed as may be, to sende men hither to occupie their landes belonging to the fower Incorporations, as well for their own behoofe and profitt, as for the maintenance of the Counsell of Estate, who are nowe to their extream hinderance, often drawen far from their private busines, & likewise that they will have a care to sende tenants to the Ministers of the fower Incorporations to manure their gleab; to the intent that the allowance they have allotted them, of £200 a yeare, may the more easily be raised.

The thirde petition humbly presented by this Generall Assembly, to the Treasurer, Counsell & Company is, that it may plainly be expressed in the great Comission (as indeed it is not) that the ancient planters of both sortes, viz: such as before Sir Thomas Dale's departure were come hither upon their owne chardges, and suche also as were brought hither upon the Companie's coste, maye have their second, third, and more divisions successively in as lardge and free manner as any other Planters. Also, that they wilbe pleased to allowe to the male children of them, and of all others begotten in Virginia, being the onely hope of a posterity, a single share apiece, and shares for their wives as for themselves; because that in a newe plantation, it is not knowen whether man or woman be the most necessary.

Their fourth petition is to beseech the Treasurer, Counsell & Company that they would be pleased to appoint a Sub-Tresurer here, to collect their rentes, to the ende the inhabitants of this Colony be not tyed to an impossibility of paying the same yearly to the Treasurer in England; and that they would enjoine the said Sub-Treasurer not precisely according to the letter of the Charter, to exacte mony of us, (whereof we have none at all, as we have no minte,) but the true value of the rente in comodity.

The fifte petition is to beseech the Treasurer, Counsell and Company that towards the erecting of the University and College, they will sende when they shall thinke most convenient, workmen of all sortes fitt for that purpose.

The sixte and laste is, they wilbe pleased to change the savage name of Kiccowtan, and to give that incorporation a newe name.

These are the severall Petitions drawen by the Comitties out of the two former bookes; wch the whole General Assembly, in manner and forme above sette down, doe most

humbly offer up and presente to the favourable construction of the Treasurer, Counsell, and Company in England.

These petitions thus concluded on, those twoe Comitties brought in a report, what they had observed in the twoe latter bookes, wch was nothing else, but that the perfection of them was suche, as they could finde nothing therein subject to exception. Onely the Gov^rs^ particular opinion to my selfe in private hathe bene, as touching a clause in the third booke, that in these doubtfull times between us and the Indians, it would behoove us not to make so lardge distances between Plantation and Plantation as ten miles, but for our more strength and security to drawe nearer together.

At the same time there remaining no farther scruple in the mindes of the Assembly touching the said Great Charter of lawes, orders, and priviledges, the Speaker putt the same to the question ; and so it had both the general assent, and the applause of the whole Assembly ; who as they professed themselves in the first place, most submissively thankfull to Almighty God, therefor, so they comaunded the Speaker to returne (as nowe he doth) their due and humble thanks to the Treasurer, Counsell & Company, for so many priviledges & favours, as well in their owne names, as in the names of the whole Colony whom they represented.

This being dispatched, we fell once more to debating of suche instructions given by the Counsell, in England, to several Gov as might be converted into lawes, the last whereof was the establishment of the price of Tobacco, namely : of the best at 3s., and of the second at 18d. the pounde. At the reading of this the Assembly thought good to send for M^r^. Abraham Persey, the Cape Marchant, to publishe this instruction to him, and to demaunde of him, if he knewe any impediment, why it might not be admitted of? His answer was, that he had not as yet received any suche order from the adventurers of the Magazin in England. And notw^th^standing he sawe the authority was good, yet was he unwilling to yield, till suche time as the Govr. & Assembly had layd their comandement upon him, out of the authority of the foresaid Instructions, as followeth :

By the General Assembly.

We will and require you, Mr. Abraham Persey, Cape Marchant, from this daye forward to take notice, that according to an article in the Instructions, confirmed by the Treas-

surer, Counsell and Company in England, at a general quarter Courte, both by voices, and under their hand sand comon seale, and given to Sir George Yeardley, Knight, this present Governour, Decemb. 1, 1618, that you are bounde to accepte of the Tobacco of the Colony, either for commodities or upon billes, at three shillings the beste, and the second sorte at 18d. the pounde; and this shalbe your sufficient dischardge.

James Citty, out of the said General Assembly, July 31st 1619.

At the same time the Instructions convertible into lawes were referred to the consideration of the above named Committies, viz: The General Instructions to the first Committie, and the particular Instructions to the second, to be returned by them into the Assembly on Monday Morng.

SUNDAY, Aug. 1.

Mr. Shelley, one of the Burgesses, deceased.

MONDAY, Aug. 2.

Captaine John Martin (according to the Sumons sent him on Fryday, July 30), made his personall appearance at the barre; when as the Speaker having first read unto him the Orders of the Assembly that concerned him, he pleaded lardgely for himselfe to them both, and indevoured to answere some other things that were objected against his Patente. In fine being demanded out of the former order, whether he would quitte that clause of his Patente wch (quite otherwise then Sir William Throckmorton's, Captain Christopher Lawnes, and other men's patentes) exempteth himselfe and his people from all services of the Colonie, excepte onely in case of warre against a forren or domesticall enemie: his answer was negative; that he would not infringe any part of his Patente, whereupon it was resolved by the Assembly, that his Burgesses should have no admittance. To the second Order, his answere was affirmative, namely: that (his Patent notwthstanding) whensoever he should sende into the baye to trade, he would be contente to putt in security to the Govr for the good behaviour of his people towards the Indians.

It was at the same time farther ordered by the Assembly that the Speaker in their names should (as he nowe doth) humbly demaunde of the Treasurer, Counsell, and Company,

an exposition of this one clause in Capt. Martin's Patente, namely where it is saide, That he is to enjoy his landes in as large and ample manner to all intentes and purposes, as any lord of any manours in England doth holde his grounde; out of wch some have collected, that he might by the same graunte, protecte men from paying their debtes, and from diverse other dangers of lawe. The least the Assembly can alledge against this clause, is, that it is obscure, and that it is a thing impossible for us here to knowe the prerogatives of all the manours in Englande.

The Assembly therefore humbly beseecheth their Lo^ps^, and the rest of that hon^ble^ bourde; that in case they shall find any thing in this or in any other parte of his graunte, whereby that clause towardes the conclusion of the great charter, (viz: that all grauntes, as well of the one sorte as the other, respectively be made wth equall favor, and graunts of like liberties and immunities as neer as may be, to the ende that all complainte of partiality and unindifferency, may be avoided) might in any sorte be contradicted, or the uniformity and equality of lawes and orders extending over the whole Colony, might be impeached; That they would be pleased to remove any such hinderance, as may diverte out of the true course, the free & publique current of justice.

Upon the same grounde and reason, their Lo^ps^ together with the rest of the Counsell and Company are humbly besought by this Generall Assembly, that if in that other clause which exempteth Captain Martin and his people from all services of the Colony, &c., they shall finde any resistance against that equality and uniformity of lawes and orders intended nowe by them to be established over the whole Colony, that they would be pleased to reforme it.

In fine, wheras Capt. Martin, for those ten shares allowed him for his personall adventure, and for his adventure of £70, besides, doth claim 500 acres a share; that the Treasurer, Counsell, & Company woulde vouchsafe to give notice to the Governour here, what kinde of shares they meante he should have when they gave him his Patent.

The Premisses about Captaine Martin thus resolved, the Committies appointed to consider what Instructions are fitt to be converted into lawes, brought in their opinions and first of some of the general Instructions.

Here begin the lawes drawen out of the Instructions given by His Maties Counsell of Virginia in

England to my Lo. La Warre, Capt. Argall, & Sir George Yeardley, Knt.

By this present generall Assembly be it enacted, that no injury or oppression be wrought by the Englishe against the Indians wherby the present peace might be disturbed, and ancient quarrells might be revived. And farther be it ordained, that the Chicohomini are not to be excepted out of this lawe ; untill either that suche order come out of Englande, or that they doe provoke us by some newe Injury.

Against Idlenes, Gaming and durunkenes, and excesse in apparell, the Assembly hath enacted as followeth :

First in detestation of Idlenes, be it enacted, that if any man be founde to live as an Idler, or runagate, though a freedman, it shalbe lawfull for that Incorporation or Plantation to wch he belongeth, to appoint him a M^r^ to serve for wages till he shewe apparant signes of amendment.

Against gaming at dice and cardes be it ordained by this present Assembly, that the winner or winners, shall loose all his or their winninges, and both winners and loosers shall forfaicte ten shillings a man, one ten shillings wherof to go to the discoverer, and the rest to charitable and pious uses in the Incorporation where the faulte is comitted.

Against drunkenes be it also decreed, that if any private person be found culpable therof, for the first time he is to be reprooved privately by the Minister, the second time publiquely ; the thirde time to lye in boltes 12 howers in the House of the Provost Marshall, & to paye his fee ; and if he still continue in that vice, to undergo suche severe punishment as the Govern & Counsell of Estate shall thinke fitt to be inflicted on him. But if any Officer offende in this crime, the first time he shall receive a reproof from the Governour ; the second time he shall openly be reprooved in the churche by the Minister ; and the third time he shall first be comitted and then degraded. Provided it be understood that the Govr hath always power to restore him, when he shall in his discretion thinke fitt.

Against excesse in apparell ; that every man be cessed in the churche for all publique contributions, if he be unmarried, according to his owne apparell ; if he be married, according to his owne and his wives, or either of their apparell.

As touching the instructions of drawing some of the better disposed of the Indians to converse wth our people, & to live and labour amongst them, the Assembly who knowe well

their dispositions, thinke it fitte to enjoine at least to counsell those of the Colony, neither utterly to rejecte them, nor yet to drawe them to come in.

But in case they will of themselves come voluntarily to places well peopled, there to doe service, in killing of Deere, fishing, beatting of corne, and other workes; that then five or six may be admitted into every suche place, and no more —and that wth the consente of the Governour. Provided, that goode guarde in the night be kept upon them: for generally (though some amongst many proove good) they are a most trecherous people, and quickly gone when they have done a villany. And it were fitte a house were builte for them to lodge in aparte by themselves, and lone inhabitants by no means to entertaine them.

Be it enacted by this present Assembly, that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion, eache towne, Citty, Burrough, and particular plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just meanes, a certaine number of the natives children, to be educated by them in true religion and a civile course of life. Of which children the most towardly boyes in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the firste elements of litterature, so as to be fitted for the Colledge intended for them; that from thence they may be sente to that worke of conversion.

As touching the busines of planting corne, this present Assembly doth ordaine, that yeare by yeare all and every householder and householders have in store for every servant he or they shall keep, and also for his or their owne persons, whether they have any servants or no, one spare barrell of corne to be delivered out yearly either upon sale or exchange as need shall require.

For the neglecte of which duty he shalbe subjecte to the censure of the Governour and Counsell of Estate. Provided alwayes, that for the first yeare of every newe man this lawe shall not be of force.

About the plantation of Mulbery Trees, be it enacted, that every man, as he is seatted upon his division, doe for seven yeares together, every yeare plante and maintaine in growth, sixe Mulberry trees at the leaste, and as many more as he shall thinke conveniente, and as his virtue and industry shall moove him to plante; and that all suche persons as shall neglecte the yearly planting and maintaining o

that small proportion, shalbe subjecte to the censure of the Governour and Counsell of Estate.

Be it farther enacted, as concerning silke flaxe, that those men that are upon their division or setled habitation, doe this nexte yeare plante and dresse 100 plantes, wch being founde a comodity, may farther be increased. And whosoever doe faile in performance of this, shalbe subjecte to the punishment of the Governour and Counsell of Estate.

For hempe also both Englishe & Indian, and for English flaxe and Anniseeds, we do require and enjoine all householders of this Colony that have any of those seedes, to make tryal thereof the nexte season.

Moreover, be it enacted by this present Assembly, that every householder doe yearly plante and maintaine ten vines, untill they have attained to the arte and experience of dressing a Vineyard, either by their owne industry, or by the Instruction of some Vigneron. And that upon what penalty soever the Governour & Counsell of Estate shall thinke fitt to impose upon the neglecters of this acte.

Be it also enacted, that all necessary tradesmen, or so many as need shall require, such as are come over since the departure of Sir Thos Dale, or that shall hereafter come, shall worke at their trades for any other man, eache one being payde according to the quality of his trade and worke, to be estimated if he shall not be contented, by the Governour and officers of the place where he worketh.

Be it farther ordained by this General Assembly, and we doe by these presents enacte, that all Contractes made in England between the Owners of lande, and their Tenants and Servants wch they shall sende hither, may be caused to be duely performed, and that the offenders be punished as the Governour and Counsell of Estate shall thinke just and convenient.

Be it established also by this present Assembly, that no crafty nor advantagious meanes be suffered to be putt in practise for the inticing awaye the Tenants or Servants of any particular plantation, from the place where they are seatted. And that it shalbe the duty of the Governour and Counsell of Estate, most severely to punishe bothe the seducers and the seduced; and to return these latter into their former places.

Be it farther enacted, that the orders for the Magazin lately made, be exactly kepte, and that the Magazin be pre-

preserved from wrong and sinister practises, and that according to the orders of courte in Englande, all Tobacco and Sassafras to be brought by the Planters to the Cape Marchant, till such time as all the goodes nowe or heretofore sent for the Magazin, be taken off their handes at the prices agreed on. That by this means the same going for Englande into one hande, the price thereof may be uphelde the better. And to the ende that all the whole Colony may take notice of the last Order of Courte made in Englande, and all those whom it concerneth may knowe howe to observe it, we holde it fitt to publishe it here for a lawe among the rest of our lawes. The wch Order is as followeth.

Upon the 26th of October 1618, it was ordered that the Magazin should continue during the terme formerly prefixed ; and that certain abuses now complained of should be reformed ; and that for preventing of all Impositions, save the allowance of 25 in the hundred proffitt, the Governour shall have an Invoice as well as the Cape Marchant ; that if any abuse in the sale of the goods be offred, hee upon intelligence and due examination thereof, shall see it corrected. And for the incouragement of particular hundreds, as Smythe's hundred, Martin's hundred, Lawne's hundred, and the like, it is agreed that what comodities are reaped upon anie of these several Colonies, it shalbe lawfull for them to returne the same to their owne adventurers. Provided, that the said comodity be of their owne growing, w^th^out trading wth any other, in one entyre lumpe, and not dispersed ; and that at the determination of the jointe stocke the goods then remaining in the Magazin, shall be bought by the said particular Colonies before any other goods w shalbe sent by private men. And it was moreover ordered, that if the Lady La Warre, the Lady Dale, Capt. Bargrave, and the rest would unite themselves into a setled Colony, they might be capable of the same priviledges that are graunted to any of the foresaid hundreds. Hitherto the Order.

And the General Assembly by voices concluded, not onely the acceptance and observation of this Order, but of the Instruction also to Sir Geo. Yeardley, next preceding the same.

Provided first, that the Cape Marchant do accepte of the Tobacco of all and everie the Planters here in Virginia, either for goodes or upon billes of exchange at three shillings the pounde the beste, and 18^d.^ the second sorte. Provided, also, that the billes be duly payde in England. Provided

in the third place, that if any other besides the Magazin have at any time any necessary comodity wch the Magazin doth wante, it shall and may be lawfull for any of the Colony to buye the said necessary comodity of the said party, but upon the termes of the Magazin, viz: allowing no more gaine then 25 in the hundred, and that wth the leave of the Governour. Provided lastely, that it may be lawfull for the Governour to give leave to any Mariner or any other person that shall have any suche necessary comodity, wanting to the Magazin to carrie home for England so muche Tobacco, or other naturall comodities of the Country as his Customers shall pay him for the said necessary comodity or comodities.

And to the ende we may not onely persuade and incite men, but inforce them also thoroughly and loyally to cure their Tobacco, before they bring it to the Magazin; be it enacted, and by these presents we doe enacte, that if upon the judgement of fower sufficient men of any Incorporation where the Magazin shall reside, (having first taken their Oathes to give true sentence, twoe whereof to be chosen by the Cape Marchant, and twoe by the Incorporation) any Tobacco whatsoever shall not prove vendible at the second price, that it shall there imediately be burnt before the owner's face. Hitherto suche lawes as were drawen out of the Instructions.

TUESDAY, Aug. 3rd. 1619.

This morning a third sorte of lawes (such as might proceed out of every man's private conceipte) were read and referred by halves to the same Comitties wch were from the beginning.

This done, Capt. William Powell presented to the Assembly a petition, to have justice against a lewde and trecherous servant of his; who by false accusation given up in writing to the Governour, sought not onely to gett him deposed from his government of James Citty, and utterly (according to the Proclamation) to be degraded from the place and title of a Captaine; but to take his life from him also. And so out of the said Petition sprang this order following:

Captaine William Powell presented a Petition to the Generall Assembly, against one Thomas Garnett, a Servant of his, not onely for extreame neglect of his busines, to the great losse and prejudice of the said Captaine, & for openly

and impudently abusing his house in sight both of Master and Mistresse, through wantonness wth a woman servant of theirs, a widdowe; but also for falsely accusing him to the Governour, both of Drunkenes and Thefte, and besides for bringing all his fellow servants to certifie on his side, wherin they justly failed him. It was thought fitt by the General Assembly (the Governour himselfe giving sentence) that he should stande fower days with his eares nayled to the Pillory, viz: Wednesday, Augt. 4th and so likewise, Thursday, Fryday and Saturday next following; and every of those fower dayes should be publiquely whipped.

Now as touching the neglecte of his worke, what satisfaction ought to be made to his M^r^ for that, is referred to the Governour and Counsell of Estate.

The same morning the Lawes above written, drawen out of the Instructions were read, and one by one throughly examined, and then passed once againe the generall consente of the whole Assembly.

This afternoon the Comitties brought in a reporte, what they had done as concerning the third sorte of lawes; the discussing whereof spente the residue of that daye. Excepte onely the consideration of a petition of Mr. John Rolfes against Captain John Martine, for writing a letter to him, wherein (as Mr. Rolfe alledgeth) he taxeth him both unseemingly and amisse of certaine things wherein he was never faulty, and besides casteth some aspersion upon the present government, wch is the most temperate and juste that ever was in this country, too milde indeed for many of this Colony, whom unwoonted liberty hath made insolente and not to knowe themselves. This petition of Mr. Rolfes was thought fitt to be referred to the Counsell of State.

Wednesday, Aug. 4th

This daye (by reason of extream heat both paste and likely to ensue, and by that meanes, of the alteration of the healthes of diverse of the General Assembly) the Governour, who himself also was not well, resolved should be the laste of this firste Session. So in the morning the Speaker (as he was required by the Assembly) redd over all the lawes and orders that had formerly passed the House, to give the same yett one reviewe more and to see whether there were anything to be amended,

or that might be excepted againste. This being done, the third sorte of lawes, wch I am now coming to sett downe, were read over and throughly discussed; wch together with the former did nowe passe the laste and finall consente of the General Assembly.

A Thirde sorte of Lawes, suche as maye issue out of every mans privat conceipt.

It shalbe free for every man to trade wth the Indians, servants onely excepted, upon paine of whipping, unlesse the M^r^ will redeeme it off with the payment of an Angell; one fourth parte whereof to go to the Provost Marshall, one fourth parte to the Discoverer and the other moyty to the publique uses of the Incorporation.

That no man do sell or give any of the greatter howes to the Indians, or any Englishe dog of quality, as a Mastive, Greyhound, Bloodhounde, lande or water Spaniell, or any other dog or bitche whatsoever of the Englishe race, upon paine of forfaiting £5 sterling to the publique uses of the Incorporation where he dwelleth.

That no man doe sell or give any Indians any piece, shott, or poulder, or any other armes offensive or defensive, upon paine of being helde a Traytour to the Colony, and of being hanged, so soon as the facte is proved, w^th^out all redemption.

That no man may go above twenty miles from his dwelling place, nor upon any voiage whatsoever shalbe absent from thence, for the space of seven days together, w^th^out first having made the Governour or Comander of the same place acquainted therewith upon paine of paying twenty shillings to the publique uses of the same Incorporation, where the party delinquent dwelleth.

That no man shall purposely goe to any Indian townes, habitations, or places of resorte, w^th^out leave from the Governour, or Comand^r^, of that place where he liveth, upon paine of paying 40^s^ to publique uses as aforesaid.

That no man living in this Colony, but shall betwen this and the first of January nexte ensuing come or sende to the Secretary of Estate, to enter his owne and all his servants names, and for what terme, or upon what conditions they are to serve, upon penalty of paying 40^s^ to the said Secretary of Estate.

Also whatsoever M^rs^ or people do come over to this plantation, that within one moneth of their arrivall (notice being

first given them of this very lawe) they shall likewise resorte to the Secretary of Estate, and shall certifie him upon what termes or conditions they be come hither, to the ende that he may recorde their graunts and Comissions, and for how long time, and upon what conditions their servants (in case they have any) are to serve them, and that upon paine of the penalty nexte above mentioned.

All Ministers in the Colony shall once ayeare, namely in the moneth of Marche, bring to the Secretary of Estate a true account of all christenings, burials, and Marriages, upon paine, if they faile, to be censured for their negligence by the Governour and Counsell of Estate. Likewise where there be no Ministers that the Comanders of that place doe supply the same duty.

No man wthout leave from the Governour, shall kill any Neatt-cattle whatsoever, young or olde, especially kine, Heyfars, or Cowe-Calves, and shall be careful to preserve their Steeres and Oxen, and to bring them to the plough, and such proffitable uses, and wthout having obtained leave as aforesaid, shall not kill them upon penalty of forfaiting the value of the beast so killed.

Whosoever shall take any of his neighbours boates, oares or Canoas, wth out leave from the owner, shallbe helde and esteemed as a felon, and so proceeded against. Also hee that shall take away by violence, or stelth any Canoas or other thinges from the Indians, shall make valuable restitution to the said Indians ; and shall forfaict, if he be a freeholder five pound, if a servant 40 or endure a whipping. And anything under the value of 13^{d} ob shall be accounted Petty larceny.

All Ministers shall duely read Divine service, and exercise their ministerial function,according to the Ecclesiasticall lawes and orders of the churche of Englande, and every Sunday in the afternoon shall catechize suche as are not yet ripe to come to the Comunion. And whosoever of them shall be found negligent or faulty in this kinde, shalbe subject to the censure of the Governor and Counsell of Estate.

The Ministers and Churchwardens shall seeke to presente all ungodly disorders ; the Comittees whereof, if upon good admonitions and milde reprooff they will not forbeare the said skandalous offenses, as suspicions of whordomes, dishonest Company-keeping with weomen and suche like, they are to be presented and punished acccordingly.

If any person, after two warnings do not amende his or

her life, in point of evident suspicion of Incontinency, or of the Comission of any other Enormous suines ; that then he or shee be presented by the Churchewardens, and suspended for a time from the Churche by the Minister. In wch Interim if the same person do not amende, and humbly submitt him or herselfe to the Churche, he is then fully to be excomunicate, and soon after a Writt or Warrant to be sente from the Governour for the apprehending of his person and seizing on all his goods. Provided alwayes that all the Ministers doe meet once a quarter, namely at the feast of St. Michael the Arkangell, of the Nativity of our Saviour, of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgine, and about Midsomer, at James Citty, or any other place where the Governour shall reside, to determine whom it is fitt to excomunicate, and that they first presente their opinion to the Governour ere they proceed to the acte of excomunication.

For reformation of swearing every Freeman and M of a family after thrise admonition, shall give 5^s^ or the value upon present demande, to the use of the Church, where he dwelleth, and every servant, after the like admonition, except his M^r^ dischardge the fine, shalbe subject to whipping. Provided that the payment of the fine not^wth^standing the said servant shall acknowledge his faulte publiquely in the Churche.

No man whatsoever, coming by water from above, as from Henrico, Charles Citty, or any place from the Westwarde of James Citty, & being bound for Kicowtan, or any other parte on this side the same, shall presume to passe by, either by day or by night w^th^out touching firste here at James Citty, to knowe whether the Governour will comande him any service. And the like shall they performe that come from Kiccowtan-ward, or from any place between this and that, to go upwarde ; upon paine of forfaiting ten pound sterling a time to the Governour.

Provided that if a servant having had instructions from his Master to observe this lawe doe not^wth^standing transgresse the same, that then the said servant shal be punished at the Governours discretion: otherwise that the Master himselfe shall undergo the foresaid penalty.

No man shall have trade into the baye either in shallop, pinnace, or ship, w^th^out the Governours license ; and without putting in security that neither himselfe, nor his company shall force or wrong the Indians, upon paine, that doing

otherwise, they shalbe censured at their returne by the Govr and Counsell of Estate.

All persons whatsoever upon the Sabaoth days, shall frequente divine service and sermons both forenoon and afternoon; and all such as beare armes shall bring their pieces, swordes, poulder, and shotte. And every one that shall transgresse this lawe, shall forfaict three shillings a time to the use of the Churche, all lawfull and necessary impediments excepted. But if a servant in this case shall wilfully neglecte his M^{rs} comande, he shall suffer bodily punishmente.

No maide or woman servant, either now resident in the Colonie, or hereafter to come shall contract herselfe in marriage wthout either the consente of her parents, or of her M^{r} or M^{rs} or of the Magistrat and Minister of the place both together. And whatsoever Minister shall marry or contracte any suche persons wthout some of the foresaid consentes, shalbe subject to the severe censure of the Govr and Counsell of Estate.

Be it enacted by this present Assembly that whatsoever servant hath heretofore, or shall hereafter contracte himselfe in Englande either by way of Indenture or otherwise, to serve any Master here in Virginia, and shall afterward, againste his said former contracte, departe from his M^{r} wthout leave, or being once imbarked shall abandon the ship he is appointed to come in, and so being lefte behinde, shall put himselfe into the service of any other man that will bring hither: That then at the same servants arrival here, he shall first serve out his time with that M^{r} that brought him hither, and afterwards also shall serve out his time wth his former M^{r} according to his covenant.

Here ende the lawes.

All these lawes being thus concluded and consented to, as aforesaid, Captaine Henry Spellman was called to the barre, to answere to certaine misdemeano^{rs} layde to his chardge, by Robert Poole interpretour upon his oath, (whose examination the Governour sente into England in the Prosperus) of wch accusations of Poole some he acknowledged for true, but the greattest part he denyed, Whereupon the Gen. Assembly having throughly heard and considered his speeches, did constitute this order following against him.

AUGUST 4th, 1619.

This day Captaine Henry Spellman, was convented before the General Assembly, and was examined by a relation upon

oath of one Robert Poole, Interpreter, what conference had passed between the said Spellman and Opochancano, at Pooles meeting with him at Opochancanos courte. Poole chardgeth him, he spake very unrevently and maliciously against this present Governour, wherby the honour and dignity of his place and person, and so of the whole Colonie might be brought into contempte, by wch meanes what mischiefs might ensue from the Indians by disturbance of the peace or otherwise, may easily be conjectured. Some thinges of this relation Spelman confessed; but the most parte he denyed, excepte onely one matter of importance; and that was, that he had informed Opochancano that wthin a yeare, there would come a Governour greatter than this that nowe is in place. By wch and by other reportes it seemeth, he hath alienated the minde of Opochancano from this present Govornour, & brought him in muche disesteem both w Opochancano, and the Indians, and the whole Colony in danger of their slippery designes.

The General Assembly upon Pooles testimony onely not willing to putt Spelman to the rigour and extremity of the Lawe, wch might perhaps both speedily and deservedly have taken his life from him (upon the witnes of one whom he muche excepted against) were pleased for the present to censure him rather out of that his confession above written, than out of any other proofe. Several and sharpe punishments were pronounced against him by diverse of the assembly. But in fine the whole Courte by voices united did encline to the most favourable, wch was, that for this his misdemean^{r} he should first be degraded of his title of Captaine at the head of the troupe, and should be condemned to performe seven yeares service to the Colony, in the nature of an Interpreter to the Governour.

This day also did the Inhabitants of Paspaheigh alias Argallstowne presente a petition to the General Assembly to give them an absolute dischardge from certain bondes, wherin they stand bound to Captain Samuell Argall for the payment of £600, and to Captain William Powell at Capt Argalls appointment, for the payment of £50, more. To Captaine Argall for 15 skore acres of wooddy ground called by the name of Argallstowne or Paspaheigh; to Captaine Powell in respect of his paines in clearing the grounde, and building the Houses for wch Capt. Argall ought to have given him satisfaction. Nowe the General Assembly being doubtful

whether they have any power and authority to dischardge the said bondes, doe by these presentes (at the instance of the said Inhabit[ts] of Paspaheighs alias Martins hundred people) become most humble sutours to the Tresurer, Counsell, and Company in England, that they will be pleased to gett the said bondes for £600 to be cancelled forasmuche as in their great Comission they have expressely, and by name appointed that place of Paspaheigh for parte of the Governours lande.

And whereas, Captaine William Powell is paide his £50 w[ch] Capt Argall enjoined the saide Inhabitants to presente him with, as part of the bargaine ; the Generall Assembly at their intreaty do become sutours on their behalfe that Captaine Argall by the Counsell and Company in England may be compelled either to restore the said £50, from thence, or else that restitution therof be made here, out of the goods of the said Captaine Argall.

The last acte of the Generall Assembly was a contribution to gratifie their officers, as followeth :—

AUGUST 4th, 1619.

It is fully agreed at this Generall Assembly, that in regarde of the greate paines and labour of the Speaker of the Assembly (who not onely first formed the same Assembly and to their great ease and expedition, reduced all matters to be treatted of into a ready method, but also, his indisposition not[wth]standing, wrote or dictated all orders and other expedients, and is yett to write severall bookes, for all the several Incorporations and Plantations, both of the great charter, and of all the lawes), and likewise in respecte of the diligence of the Clerke and Sergeant Officers therto belonging.

That every man and man servant of above 16 yeares of age, shall pay into the handes and custody of the Burgesses of every Incorporation and Plantation, one pound of the best tobacco, to be distributed to the Speaker, and likewise to the Clerke and Sergeant of the Assembly, according to their degrees and rankes, the whole bulke whereof to be delivered into the Speakers handes, to be divided accordingly.

And in regard the Provost Marshall of James Citty hath also given some attendance upon the said Generall Assembly, he is also to have a share out of the same. And this is to begin to be gathered the 24th of February nexte.

In conclusion the whole Assembly comanded the

Speaker (as nowe he doth) to present their humble excuse to the Tresurer, Counsell and Company in England, for being constrained by the intemperature of the weather, and the falling sicke of diverse of the Burgesses, to breake up so abruptly, before they had so muche as putt their lawes to the ingrossing. This they wholly comitted in the fidelity of their Speaker, who therin (his conscience telles him) hath done the parte of an honest man. Otherwise he would easily be founde out by the Burgesses themselves, who wth all expedition are to have so many bookes of the same lawes as there be both Incorporations and Plantations, in the Colony.

In the second place the Assembly doth most humbly crave pardon, that in so shorte a space they could bring their matter to no more perfection, being for the present enforced to sende home Titles rather then Lawes, Propositions rather then Resolutions, Attemptes then Atchievements: hoping their courtesy will accepte our poore indevour and their wisedome will be ready to supporte the weaknes of this little flocke.

Thirdly, the General Assembly doth humbly beseech the said Treasurer, Counsell, and Company that albeit it belongeth to them onely to allowe or to abrogate any lawes wch we shall here inacte, and that it is their right so to doe; yet that it would please them not to take it in ill parte, if these lawes wch we have nowe brought to light, do passe current, and be of force, till suche time as we may knowe their farther pleasure out of Englande: for otherwise this people (who nowe at length have got the raines of former servitude into their owne swindge) would in shorte time growe so insolent, as they would shake off all government, and there would be no living among them.

Their last humble suite is, that the said Counsell and Company would be pleased, so soon as they shall finde it convenient, to make good their promise sett down at the conclusion of their comission for establishing the Counsell of Estate and the General Assembly; namely, that they will give us power to allowe or disallowe of their orders of Courte, as his Ma^{ty} hath given them power to allow or rejecte our Lawes.

In sume Sir George Yeardley, the Governour, prorogued the said General Assembly till the firste of Marche, which is to fall out this present yeare of 1619, and in the mean season dissolved the same.—FINIS.

NOTICE.

The second part of the present volume will contain "The Duke of York's Charter of Liberties and Priviledges to the Inhabitants of New York, anno 1683. With Acts of the Assembly of that Year, and the year 1684. From the original MSS. in the office of the Secretary of State. With an Introduction and Notes by George H. Moore. A copious General Index will also be given to all the previous publications of the Society, viz.:

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